



Early Britain

Post-Norman

Britain

H. G. Hewlett



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POST NORMAN BRITAIN: FOREIGN INFLUENCES



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EARLY BRITAIN.

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POST NORMAN BRITAIN:

FOREIGN INFLUENCES UPON THE HISTORY OF
ENGLAND FROM THE ACCESSION OF HENRY III.
TO THE REVOLUTION OF 1688.

BY

HENRY G. HEWLETT.

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PREFACE.

THE volumes comprising the series published under the title of "Early Britain" furnish a brief analytical and historical account of the chief racial elements which successively became blended in the mental and physical constitution of the English people down to the close of the Norman period. The present volume is intended to supplement the series by a sketch of the various influences derived from foreign sources which subsequently contributed to modify and develop our national character, down to the period when the modern history of England may be said to begin. The contributions which this survey embraces comprise not only the accession of new racial elements by occasional immigrations, but such influences of political, religious, moral, and intellectual force as have become permanently absorbed into the organism of the nation, or have assisted to promote its historical growth. The several impulses given to our progress in literature, philosophy, science, the arts, commerce, colonisation, invention, and industry come directly within its scope. But the external influence thus exercised has not always been direct. In more than one instance it proceeded from a hostile source, and was only converted into a beneficent agency by dint of the reflex action which it excited. The largeness of the debt to foreign aids which is disclosed by this investigation may seem at first sight to detract from the originality of our native genius, but ought rather

to be regarded as measuring the assimilative power inherent in it. As the period to which this retrospect is confined was anterior to the union of the three kingdoms, it has been necessary to treat both Scotland and Ireland as foreign countries, and to take into account only so much of their history as has concerned that of England.

The limited scale of the work has rendered many omissions unavoidable, and allowed no more than a cursory glance at topics of interest and importance which deserved ample consideration. I am bound to acknowledge my special obligation to Green's "History of the English People" for its masterly outline of the national annals in relation to the organic growth of our free institutions, which I have adopted as a groundwork of political narrative; to the excellent summaries of facts connected with the progress of English commerce, art, and industry contained in Macfarlane's "Pictorial History of England"; to the literary histories of Hallam and Shaw, and Professor Morley's "First Sketch of English Literature"; to Walpole's "Anecdotes of Painting," and to Dr. Smiles's exhaustive work on "The Huguenots." To the numerous original authorities and books of reference which I have had occasion to consult I must be content with a general acknowledgment of indebtedness. To my friend Mr. Walter Tregellas I owe several valuable suggestions which have helped to make this compilation, with all its shortcomings, less incomplete than it would otherwise have been.

H. G. H.

September, 1886.

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POST NORMAN BRITAIN.

FOREIGN INFLUENCES.



CHAPTER I.

Foreign influences upon English history during the thirteenth century.

THE independent national existence of England, subsequent to the Conquest, dates from the loss by John of his Norman possessions, consummated by the formal cession of them to the French King, made by Henry III., in 1259. Hitherto England had been little more than an appanage of Normandy; henceforth it was self-centred and uncontrolled. The blending of the several races which had settled on its soil into one common nationality, of Celts, Romans, Jutes, Angles, Saxons, Danes, and Normans into Englishmen, was now an accomplished fact. Though Norman-French still continued to be the spoken language of the Court and the nobility, and Latin the written language of officials, lawyers, and Churchmen, the English tongue, Teutonic in substance and structure, was alone "understood of the people." That its prevalence had become generally recognised by the middle of the century is

attested by the issue of a circular Royal Proclamation, addressed to the chief towns of the realm in 1258, ordaining the observance of the "Provisions of Oxford."

The war between John and his barons, which had resulted in their establishment of a fixed barrier to the despotic power of the Crown, had been mainly waged in the interest of the feudal landowners, but the benefits which they won for themselves were secured to all classes in the nation. The growth of a common bond of patriotic feeling, obvious traces of which are to be found in the memorials of this century, was the natural consequence of such participation. It was greatly stimulated by the national policy steadily pursued by Hubert de Burgh, the Justiciary, and Stephen Langton, Archbishop of Canterbury, who practically governed the kingdom during the nonage of Henry III.; the firmness with which they enforced the confirmation and maintained the validity of the Great Charter, resisted the encroachments of the Papacy, and discouraged the ambition of the young King to recover his Norman possessions. Both had deserved well of the country during the recent constitutional crisis; the Justiciary by the courage with which, while keeping clear of complicity in John's misrule, he opposed the mistaken course of the barons, who sought to set up a foreign prince in his stead, and frustrated its successful issue by the tenacious defence of Dover; the Archbishop, by the skill with which he had mediated between the barons and the Pope, from whom, at the close of the struggle, he obtained a pledge that no

successor to the Legate Pandulf should be sent to England during his lifetime. This last service was vividly recalled to men's minds by the renewal of Papal aggression, which succeeded his death in 1228.

Before Gregory IX. would consent to ratify the appointment of a new primate, an "aid" was demanded from the realm, and when the King's proposal to levy it on the lay fiefs was refused by the barons, the Pope enforced the exaction of a tenth upon the goods of the clergy under the threat of excommunication. This attack upon the liberties of the national Church, followed by his wholesale appointment of Italian priests to vacant English benefices, in disregard of private rights of patronage, led to a violent outbreak of popular anger in 1231, which for a time stemmed the tide of usurpation. The Papal tithe-collectors were maltreated, the tithes taken from them and given to the poor. The evidence of organisation among the rioters, and the real or supposed countenance given to their proceedings by the Justiciary, brought upon him the displeasure of the Pope, and precipitated his fall from power in 1232. The national sympathy with his policy found expression in the words of the smith of Brentwood, who, when de Burgh was dragged from the sanctuary to which he had fled, sturdily refused to "put irons on the man who freed England from the stranger." But the King had long been waiting for an opportunity to be rid of so masterful a minister, and no sooner was this end accomplished, than he proceeded to carry out his own policy of entrusting the highest offices of the State either to foreigners, or to English-

men of humble position, who were alike dependent on his favour and obsequious to his will.

His first act was to confer chief authority upon Peter des Roches, Bishop of Winchester, a Poitevin, who was odious to the nation as the unscrupulous tool of John. At his suggestion, a multitude of Poitevin and Breton office-seekers swarmed into the country, and were quickly provided with military and civil posts of rank and influence. Their mal-administration and rapacity provoked a revolt of the barons, and though this was suppressed, and the confiscated estates of the rebels were recklessly conferred upon the foreigners, the disaffection of the country became so serious, that the Church at last intervened. Under pressure of a threat of excommunication by the Primate, Edmund Rich, Henry consented to dismiss the Poitevins in 1233. But the relief was short-lived. The relations of Eleanor of Provence, who became Henry's Queen in 1236, soon succeeded in absorbing the most important dignities and the wealthiest domains of the Crown. One of her uncles, Peter, Count of Savoy, was enriched with the honours of Richmond and Hastings, besides other possessions. Another uncle, Boniface, was appointed to the vacant primacy. Other members of the family received large grants of land, or money, from the weak and lavish King. The children of his mother, Isabella, by her second husband, the Count of la Marche, were sent over to England for a share of the plunder, and were treated with equal profuseness. Aymer de Valence was made Bishop of Winchester, William was created Earl of Pembroke. Several of these

favourites having obtained the custody and marriage of young barons, who were wards of the Crown, reaped a rich harvest from the proceeds of their estates during their nonage; and before they attained majority wedded them to foreign ladies, who had come over in search of husbands. There can be no doubt that these alliances, which affected the blood of some of the oldest and noblest families in the kingdom, were followed by frequent unions between the male and female retainers of the houses thus connected. To what extent this immigration proceeded cannot be ascertained, but it was unquestionably very large. The official registers of royal grants, the "Patent" and "Charter" Rolls of Chancery, are crowded with examples of the prodigality with which Henry squandered the wealth of England upon his foreign relatives and their dependants. To the scandalous abuse of the powers entrusted to them, which many of these unworthy recipients of his bounty openly committed, the contemporary chroniclers bear abundant witness. A few prominent individuals among the number who made themselves specially obnoxious were eventually forced, by popular indignation, to quit the realm, but there is no reason to doubt that the majority remained.

Unwelcome as these intruders were to the nation, and severely as it suffered for a long time from their greed of gain, their contempt of law and order, and their subservience to the despotism of the Crown, the mischief thereby wrought was happily transient, while the accession of fresh racial elements which their intermarriage with English families involved, must

be considered a permanent benefit. In two or three notable instances the alien blood infused into the veins of England sensibly increased its patriotic ardour and vitality. To Simon de Montfort, a French noble by birth and breeding, whose title to the earldom of Leicester was acquired by his elder brother's refusal to accept the inheritance of their father's mother, coupled with the condition of relinquishing allegiance to France, we owe the most cherished of our free institutions. His marriage with the King's sister, Eleanor, widow of William Marshall, Earl of Pembroke, was strongly opposed by the Earl of Cornwall, and other of the barons, on the ground of his foreign descent; but no sooner had he taken his place in their ranks than he proved himself the staunchest supporter of the policy which de Burgh and Langton had initiated. Remaining loyal to the Crown so long as Henry was faithful to his pledge of maintaining the liberties secured by the Great Charter, he steadily opposed the unconstitutional course which the King pursued after the fall of de Burgh, distinguishing himself especially by hostility to the royal favourites and the aggression of the Papacy. Though not taking an active part in the movement which led to the passing of the provisions of Oxford, he assisted the barons, who had devised them, in enforcing the restraints thereby placed upon the power of the Crown. When these restraints proved ineffectual, and the great barons, harassed by internal dissensions, showed signs of relinquishing the struggle, Leicester turned from them to the lesser barons, the knights of the shires, and the burgesses of the chief

towns, headed the revolt, which was crowned with victory at Lewes, and turned it to immediate account by summoning, in 1265, the first House of Commons that ever sat at Westminster. The reaction in favour of the Crown, which set in soon after this triumph, and terminated in his defeat and death at Evesham, only temporarily eclipsed the lustre of his fame, and the vindication of his constitutional policy was completed by the establishment of our Parliamentary system by Edward I., in 1295, upon the identical basis which Leicester had laid down.

Two other names of alien extraction, though less distinguished than his, deserve to be remembered for the same reason, that their bearers became genuine Englishmen. Aymer de Valence, who succeeded to the earldom of Pembroke upon the death of his father, Henry's half-brother, was prominent among the statesmen and soldiers in whom Edward I. confided; and was employed by him as ambassador successively to Flanders, France, and Scotland, and as commander of the army which routed Bruce at Methven. He was one of the trusted few whom the old King, on his death-bed, charged with the obligation of persuading his son never to cancel the sentence of exile imposed upon his worthless companion, Piers Gaveston, for having intrigued to estrange him from his father. Though the pledge to this effect given by Edward II. was quickly violated, Aymer de Valence remained faithful to his trust, and took an active part in the opposition, headed by Thomas, Earl of Lancaster, which led to the re-banishment, and eventually to the death of Gaveston. In the

treasonable course, however, which the Earl subsequently pursued, Pembroke refused to follow him; and, after the defeat of his army and his capture at Boroughbridge, in 1322, sat as a member of the military tribunal which condemned him to execution.

Of the family of Dreux, who united the French duchy of Brittany with the English earldom of Richmond, and allied themselves by marriage with the blood royal of England, it must suffice to say that one of several members of it, successively bearing the name of John, spent his life in the service of the first and second Edwards. A second John adhered to the cause of Edward III. during the war with France, and thereby temporarily forfeited his French possessions. It was not until the close of the fourteenth century that the strain of this divided allegiance proved too severe for endurance: and, during the crisis of another war with France, the then Duke of Brittany adhered to her flag, and was deposed from his English honours.

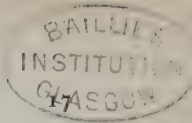
There is no reason to suppose that the foregoing instances of the quick conversion of naturalised foreigners into English patriots were by any means exceptional. Probably in the course of two or three generations most of the alien grafts became thoroughly incorporated with the native stocks to which they were attached, and adopted their robust virtues; imparting in return certain desirable qualities of their own. The vivacious gaiety and bright ardency of spirit for which the natives of south-western France are remarkable; the romantic chivalry and imagina-

tive extravagance, which are typical of the Provençal temperament, are not among the characteristics of our Teutonic family; and the large share of these which so many English men and women possess may be reasonably attributed to their derivation from an ancestral alliance with one of those southern families which at various periods of our history have become transplanted here, and whose importation in the middle of the thirteenth century was the first on a large scale that occurred since the Conquest.

The "Hanse of Almain," and other colonies of foreign merchants, who, during this century, became settled in several English cities and towns, cannot be reckoned as an accession of racial elements, in the absence of evidence to show that, although collectively naturalised as trading communities, their members intermarried to any considerable extent with Englishwomen, or enrolled themselves individually as English subjects. Regarded, however, as one of the main channels of commercial intercourse with the continents of Europe and Asia, their contribution to our national development was of the greatest value. The Flemings, who settled here soon after the Conquest, are believed to have first introduced the manufacture of woollen cloths and the art of dyeing them. Another colony of the same race is said to have established itself in Norfolk, in the reign of Henry II., and founded the worsted manufactories for which Norwich became celebrated in the thirteenth century. As early, also, as the reign of Henry II. the gold and spices of Arabia, precious stones from Egypt, silks and other stuffs from India,

and furs from Russia and Norway, were brought to London by foreign merchants. Corn, too, was imported in times of scarcity, and the wines of France and Spain were in regular demand. Bristol, Exeter, Winchester, York, Chester, Dunwich, Norwich, Lincoln, Lynn, and Grimsby were all thriving ports to which foreign merchants resorted. The benefits which they conferred would, doubtless, have been far greater but for the regulations and restrictions imposed upon their trading privileges, by statutes passed from time to time in the interest of the native merchants and guilds.

In connexion with this subject a passing reference must be made to the Jews, who flocked into England in great numbers soon after the Conquest; and, in spite of the severe persecution to which they were repeatedly subjected, remained here until 1290, when they were expelled in a body. During the two centuries of their residence in the chief cities and towns of the kingdom they appear to have occupied the position of capitalists, or money-lenders, without devoting themselves to any industrial calling. They unquestionably performed a useful function in this capacity as commercial intermediaries; but the religious aversion with which they were regarded by the Christian world, and the complete segregation from social intercourse with it which their creed imposed upon them, precluded their ever becoming incorporated with the body politic. The shrewdness and rigour with which they drove their bargains and enforced the law against their debtors, combined with these causes to render them so generally detested,



that the decree for their expulsion was hailed with public acclamation, and its severity aggravated by several acts of barbarity.

Another alien element in the midst of the race equally unincorporable with its physical and spiritual constituents, was the large body of foreign ecclesiastics, whose intrusion into English benefices (under presentations illegally granted at Rome) has already been mentioned as one of the intolerable wrongs inflicted by the Papacy upon the national Church during this period, and basely submitted to by Henry III. As celibate priests these intruders added little or nothing to the vital or political force of the realm, while their Continental training, their ignorance of the English tongue, manners, and habits of thought disqualified them for the adequate discharge of their pastoral functions. The implicit obedience which they were bound to render to the dictates of the Roman See estranged them from sympathy with the great body of the clergy and laity of the national Church, who were actuated by a desire to maintain such measure of independence as it still possessed. They were accordingly regarded by the people in the light of a hostile garrison, and credited with the worst motives as "hirelings seeking only their worldly gain." The irritation which their presence excited broke out in indignant protests of the Commons, and dignified remonstrances on the part of the Crown and its ministers, repeated from time to time, but without effect, until the source of the evil was at length restrained by the passing of the Statutes of Provisors and Præmunire (25th and 27th Edward III., and 16th

Richard II.), which rendered it penal to procure from Rome any presentation to an English benefice. Such influence, therefore, as these foreign ecclesiastics exercised must be considered as detrimental rather than helpful to the national development.

Another stream of migration which flowed from the Continent to this country, early in the same century, is entitled to grateful remembrance for the beneficent effects which it exerted upon the spiritual and moral condition of the people. The corruption which had long since tainted the religious life of Christendom at its source now extended far and wide, and was nowhere more apparent than among the English clergy and monks who were constantly in communication with Rome. The frequent employment of bishops and other dignitaries of the Church in judicial and ministerial functions hindered them from exercising due watchfulness and control over their dioceses, and the existence of shameful abuses and grave scandals among many of the parochial clergy was the unavoidable result. The monastic houses aggravated this evil by obtaining appropriations of some of the richest livings in the kingdom, the emoluments of which they absorbed, assigning paltry stipends to the vicars who served the cure of souls. Many of the regular were, equally with the secular clergy, in bad repute for their disorderly lives, but they contrived to escape the censure of their episcopal visitors by purchasing "exemptions" from Rome. Upon the neglect of their sacred duties by the teachers to whom the spiritual education of the people was solely confided, together with the in-

fluence of their immoral example, the gross ignorance, licentiousness, and violence prevalent in all ranks of society at this period were in great measure chargeable.

Originating from two independent sources in Spain and Italy, a religious and moral reaction had set in at the beginning of the century, which resulted in the establishment of two new orders of monks, inspired by the fervid zeal and self-denying devotion of their founders, St. Dominic and St. Francis. Differing from the older monastic bodies in two essential particulars, viz., that they mingled with their fellow men instead of immuring themselves in convents, and were vowed to poverty instead of acquiring lands and tithes, they embraced the missionary calling, and, clad in coarse robes and barefooted, travelled into all parts of the known world. The first band of the Dominican brotherhood, or Black friars, reached England in 1221, and was followed three years later by a band of Franciscan or Grey friars. Their earnestness and homely preaching soon won them attentive hearers among the townsmen, to whom they first turned their steps. The utter sacrifice of health and comfort to which they submitted; by living and labouring among beggars and lepers in the foulest quarters of the cities, stirred the hearts of rich men with a strange sense of shame, and awoke the poorest to a new belief in the existence of human kindness. Apart from the fanatical intolerance of all forms of heretical opinion, which has left a stain on the memory of the Dominicans, and the extravagance to which the Franciscans often carried their asceticism, the virtues and graces

which marked the lives of their earliest missionaries must command the admiration of all followers of Christ. The cordial welcome which they generally met with operated to modify their original intention of forming no fixed settlements, and they eventually established friaries in all parts of the kingdom. The disregard of theological study which they at first shewed was abandoned as soon as they discerned its value in influencing the Universities, and the theological school which the Franciscans set up at Oxford soon became famous throughout Europe. Grostête, the accomplished Bishop of Lincoln, was one of their chief supporters, and they numbered in their ranks the most learned Englishman of his age, Roger Bacon.

The University of Oxford, which since the reign of Henry II. had been rapidly growing in renown as a resort of scholars and a centre of intellectual activity, attained in the thirteenth century a reputation scarcely inferior to that of Paris. Both shared in common an indebtedness to the East as the source of their knowledge, and to the Crusades as the main channel of its communication, although some scanty filtration of the learning of Persia and Spain reached Oxford through the medium of an English student, Adelard of Bath, who in the twelfth century translated Euclid's "Elements" from an Arabic version. Paris, however, was the chief reservoir from which Oxford drew, until her own resources sufficed. Flocking to the lectures of Abelard, William de Champeaux, and other eminent teachers, many English scholars returned home to become teachers in their turn at Oxford, and after

spreading there the new ideas which they had acquired, often set forth again to seek fresh food for thought. The revival of classical learning soon spread to England, and has left its mark upon the writings of the monastic chroniclers of this period, which abound in quotations from Latin authors. The "Logic" of Aristotle was introduced at Oxford by Edmund Rich, who subsequently became Archbishop of Canterbury. Bacon records of Bishop Grostête, of Lincoln, that he invited Greek scholars over to England, and towards the close of his life commenced the study of their language. The English scholarship of this period, however, culminated in the attainments of Bacon himself, whose *Opus Magnum*, which was given to the world in 1267, is a monument of knowledge which would have been remarkable in any age, and was unique in his own. "It embraced," says its latest editor, Mr. Brewer, "with the exception of logic, the whole range of science, as science was then understood. Theology, grammar, mathematics, including geography, chronology, music, the correction of the calendar, optics, experimental philosophy, and ethics are successively discussed." Bacon, who had studied both at Paris and Oxford, made himself master of Hebrew, Arabic, Greek, and Latin, deriving through their media an intimate acquaintance with the works of Aristotle, and of his great Rabbinical and Arabian commentators, especially Averroes and Avicenna, which constituted the armoury of the mediæval schoolmen.

In these studies Bacon had many distinguished compeers and successors, Marsh, Dun Scotus, Brad-

wardine, Ockham, and others, whose reputation for erudition, subtlety, and skill became spread over Europe. It would be foreign to the purpose of this volume to attempt any analysis of the scholastic philosophy, but it may be briefly characterised in the words of Hallam as "an endeavour to arrange the orthodox system of the Church, such as authority had made it, according to the rules and methods of the Aristotelian dialectics." Barren and wire-drawn as the speculations of the schoolmen often were, they were serviceable to intellectual progress, by appealing to the standard of reason rather than authority, as well as by insisting upon exactness of language and rigorous argument. That their studies had a tendency to encourage openness of mind and liberal sympathies may be inferred from the political course pursued by some of their leading representatives. Adam de Marsh, the master of the Franciscan School at Oxford, was the confidant and adviser of Simon de Montfort; Archbishop Rich and Bishop Grostête were among the staunchest opponents of Papal exactions; Ockham was the champion of the resistance which the German empire offered to the pretensions of the Holy See to overrule the civil power; and Wycliff carried the principles of his master to their logical conclusion by vesting supreme authority in the conscience of every man, and an ultimate appeal in God.

The chief contributions to the English literature of this period were translations made from the French metrical romances of "Havelok," "Kyng Horn," "Kyng Alesaunder," "Richard Cœur de Lion," and

the Arthurian heroes, Sir Tristram and Sir Gawaine. The metrical chronicles of Robert of Gloucester and Robert Mannyng, or de Brunne, are both paraphrases of Latin or French works by earlier writers, although interesting illustrations of contemporary English. All original works continued to be written in Latin or Norman-French. The Latin chronicle of Matthew Paris is the most valuable historical memorial of his age.

The prevalence of Norman architecture in England terminated with the twelfth century, and the following century witnessed the culmination of the Early English phase of Gothic, which was a modification of the transition Norman style immediately preceding it. The design and execution of the buildings then erected consequently did not call for the employment of the foreign architects and masons who had been hitherto in request, and it is probable that most of the artistic work produced during this period should be ascribed to native genius. It is certain, however, that one Italian painter, William the Florentine, was commissioned by Henry III. to execute several works for him at Guildford and other royal residences. The architect of the shrine of Edward the Confessor, in Westminster Abbey, which Henry also erected, is described thereon as Peter, a Roman citizen, and has been plausibly identified as Pietro Cavallini, the inventor of mosaic.¹ Traces of inspiration drawn

¹ A recent authority, Professor Middleton, suggests, as a preferable identification, Pietro Cosmati, one of the artists employed in the church of St. Paolo fuori le Mura, at Rome. —*Academy*, Feb. 6, 1886.

from the contemporary art of Italy, have been discerned in other parts of the same fabric which belong to this period, such as the mosaic pavement by the altar and the mural paintings of the chapter-house, as well as in the tomb of Henry himself. The sculptors of the statues and crosses set up by Edward I. to the memory of his Queen Eleanor are conjectured by Flaxman to have been pupils from the school of Nicolo Pisano, the peculiar grace of whose manner is reflected in these designs.

The introduction of the mariner's compass into partial use in England may probably be assigned to the end of the thirteenth century, although the exact date is uncertain. That the knowledge of the polarity of the magnet reached us from abroad there can be no doubt, but which foreign nation is entitled to the credit of the discovery is matter of dispute. It appears to have been known to the Chinese before the Christian era ; a full account of it is given by a Saracen geographer, who wrote early in the twelfth century ; and a rude compass was certainly used by mariners upon the Syrian coast during the following century. The first European writer who describes the compass is a French poet, named Guyot de Provins, who as a professional minstrel is likely to have attached himself to the retinue of one of the crusaders, and to have acquired his knowledge of it in the East. The date of his work is about the year 1200. Less than half a century later, two other French writers, both crusaders, refer to the compass as an Oriental novelty. These notices seem to point to the returned crusaders as the probable medium of

its communication to Europe. England, by reason of its insular position, would, no doubt, be among the last recipients of the boon.

In the seventh and last Crusade, which was one of the notable events of this century, England took a prominent part. Without travelling into the region of conjecture, it would be difficult to indicate any special advantage which thereby accrued to the nation. In common, however, with the rest of Europe, England shared in the general benefits which are attributable to the Crusades as a phase in the world's history. Chief among such benefits were the dissipation of international jealousies, which the union of Christendom in a sacred bond was calculated to effect, and the diffusion of liberal ideas on the subject of religion, government, and social usages, brought about by the intercourse between the East and West. Scarcely less important was the increased activity imparted to maritime commerce, and the consequent opening of fresh avenues to the acquisition of scientific knowledge. Last, but not least, was the breach in the integrity of the feudal system, occasioned by the enforced sale of their estates by the great nobles, in order to raise money for the cost of the expeditions to which they were pledged. The rise of the mercantile class into wealth and power, which was closely connected with this exchange of property, operated as an influential factor in the future development of the nation.

CHAPTER II.

Foreign influences during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries to the accession of Henry VII.

ALTHOUGH the Celtic element was probably more apparent in the composition of the English nation during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries than it is now, the Welsh, who had retained it with scarcely any admixture since they were driven into their mountain fastnesses by the Saxon invasion, seem to have been regarded by the Englishmen of that day as a foreign race. This is sufficiently accounted for by the differences existing between the two peoples in point of character, language, and government, to say nothing of the incessant state of conflict occasioned by their mutual aggressions upon the marches, and the partially-successful attempts of one Norman king after another to subdue the independence of the native princes of Wales. Their final subjugation, which was achieved by Edward I. in 1283-4, followed by the adoption of the principality as a title for the heir to the throne, and a course of wise and just legislation, brought about a gradual amalgamation of the two races. A partial colonisation of South Wales had been effected by some of the followers of the Norman Conqueror and his successors, particularly in Pembrokeshire, where one of their settlements acquired the appellation of "Little England," and in

some of the border counties, where the distinctive titles "English" and "Welsh" are still retained by places bearing the same name. This colonisation had already led to a few intermarriages between the invaders and Welsh families; and the reigning princes had more than once accepted the hands of English ladies, in token of reconciliation with their suzerain at the close of a war, or as a pledge of friendly alliance. The complete conquest of the country, however, was followed by a much larger influx of English officials, judges, soldiers, and others, especially into the chief towns, and by the permanent residence there of a considerable number. There can be no doubt that many of the settlers intermarried with natives, and that the descendants of these marriages in some cases became naturalised Welshmen. In other cases, it must be presumed that there was a counter-current of migration into England. It is only in this way that one can satisfactorily account for the existence in Wales of so many ancient families bearing English names, and the corresponding occurrence of Welsh family names in various parts of England. The gradual interfusion of the races was stimulated by the employment, from time to time, of Welsh levies in the national army; comradeship in the field of battle naturally leading to the peaceful intimacies of domestic life. To what extent this interfusion proceeded is uncertain, but its effects may probably still be discerned in the physical and mental constitution of many individuals in both countries. Neither race can fairly claim to have conferred an unmixed good upon the other by the transmission of its special charac-

teristics, but the balance of gain over loss is clearly apparent on the English side. The gifts which the Celtic mind was able to impart—its delicately-flowering fancy, its attachment to ancestral claims and local associations, its reverence for legend and tradition,—were cheaply purchased at the cost of an excitable temperament, too prone to indulge in rash impulse and litigious obstinacy. The solid sense and cool deliberation upon which Englishmen justly pride themselves were admirably fitted, on the other hand, to correct the exuberance of these qualities. Two centuries had yet to elapse before the union of the two countries was finally consummated, but its growth commenced with the Conquest, and though temporarily checked in the fifteenth century by the revolt of Owen Glyndwr, who revived the Welsh spirit of independence, was never seriously disturbed.

With Scotland, whose sovereigns owed a nominal vassalage to the English crown, our relations were intermittently hostile. The attempt of Edward I. to abuse his feudal superiority by depriving the Scots of their national liberties, though stoutly resisted, was for a time successful, but during the last years of his reign a fresh uprising of patriotic spirit, directed by Robert Bruce, swept away his authority. The weak hands of Edward II. proved unable to restore the yoke, and by the victory of Bannockburn (1314) the Scots established their independence. Incessant raids across the border, and occasional aggressions on a larger scale, kept the two nations upon a more or less unfriendly footing for nearly three centuries longer.

Though happily insufficient to prevent the spread of beneficial influences from the southern into the northern kingdom, it was strong enough to hinder our reception of any corresponding benefit.

In Ireland, since the date of its conquest by Henry II., the English invaders formed a colony which intermingled without coalescing with the native tribes, whom they persistently oppressed and plundered ; descending to their barbarous level rather than imparting to them the advantages of a higher culture. When, in process of time, the severance of the settlers from their kindred and the attractive qualities of the Celtic nature tended to bring about a partial amalgamation of the races, the Legislature sharply checked it by prohibitory enactments. Resenting the injustice with which their conquerors treated them as savages incapable of civilisation, the Irish repaid it with a fierce hatred and rebellious turbulence that provoked renewed severities. The relations of the two countries thus became so deeply embittered as to preclude any interchange of helpful influences.

The political relations between England and France form the most eventful chapter in the history of these centuries, and, owing to the signal success which attended their arms, the reigns of Edward III. and Henry V. have been accounted the most glorious in our annals. But the glory was as brief as it was splendid, and the drain of her blood and treasure reduced the country to the point of exhaustion. For a time England occupied the most conspicuous place among the European powers, the number of her

French subjects equalling, if it did not exceed, that of her native population. By the treaty of Bretigny, in 1360, which terminated his longest war with France, Edward agreed to abandon his shadowy claim to the French throne and the Duchy of Normandy, in exchange for the sovereignty of the Duchy of Aquitaine, which comprised Guienne, Gascony, and other rich provinces ; besides retaining his family inheritance of Ponthieu and his recently-acquired territory of Calais and Guisnes. Before the end of his reign, however, his vast possessions in the south of France had dwindled to the area of the towns of Bordeaux and Bayonne. The military genius of Henry V. redeemed this loss by the reconquest of Normandy, but his acquisitions dropped from the weak grasp of his successor, and, by the middle of the fifteenth century, Calais and Guisnes were the sole remnants of English dominion in France. Substantially hurtful, rather than helpful, to the well-being of the nation as these unjustifiable and fruitless wars must be regarded from our higher modern standpoint, they undoubtedly served to mould the heroic type of Englishman, and to store the popular memory with traditions of his dauntless valour and fortitude, which have since stood us in good stead on many a worthier battle-field.

The incessant state of conflict between England and France which prevailed during this period necessarily checked such slight currents of emigration as had hitherto intermittently flowed from one to the other. The unfriendly attitude which France occupied during the time when England was most cruelly agitated by civil war, the dynastic struggle of the

“Roses,” was maintained almost persistently down to the middle of the sixteenth century. The raids which French ships of war made from time to time upon unprotected ports of our eastern and southern coasts inflicted great destruction of property and individual suffering. The traditional memory of these repeated injuries is sufficient to account for the rank growth of insular prejudice against the French nation which eventually became a marked feature in our national character.

With the Low Countries our relations were usually on a friendly footing, and it formed part of the diplomatic policy of Edward III. to make them intimately cordial. The Flemish cities were not only staunch allies in his campaign against France, but furnished him with the means of sustaining it by their readiness to employ in their looms as much wool as English merchants were able to export. The duties levied upon this commodity alone are said to have amounted to £30,000 in a single year. The only emigration from the Continent of any importance which occurred during these two centuries arose out of the friendly relations thus established. In 1331 Edward III. invited the settlement of Flemish weavers, dyers, and fullers in his dominions by the promise of his favour and protection, with the avowed object of introducing their skill to the knowledge of his subjects. That the invitation was not long in waiting for acceptance was probably due to the severe competition which must have prevailed in such prosperous trades ; but the guilds would undoubtedly have prohibited the emigration of skilled craftsmen could

its consequences have been foreseen. The first emigrant was a weaver named Kempe, who was accompanied by his apprentices and servants. "Many of his countrymen soon followed: a few years later other weavers came over from Brabant and Zealand, and thus was established certainly the first manufactory of fine woollen cloths in England."¹ Settlements of these artisans are said to have been made in London, Norfolk, Devonshire, Somersetshire, Lancashire, Westmoreland, and Yorkshire.

The guilds of foreign merchants continued during this period to be the principal, although by no means exclusive, channels of commercial intercourse between England and the rest of the world. The Hanse of German merchants (whose guildhall in London was situated in Thames Street) still took the leading place among these companies, and in 1475 obtained a valuable ratification of their trading privileges. Important commercial treaties were made about the same time with the merchants of other countries. Into the ports of London, Southampton, and Bristol trading vessels from Genoa and Venice brought the products of Italy, together with those of India, Egypt, and other parts of the East. With Spain there appears to have been no direct traffic, but its produce was imported into England by means of the merchants of Bruges. There was, however, a direct trade with Portugal of considerable importance in wine, figs, raisins, and other commodities. The capital required for loans and other financial transactions, subsequent

¹ "Pictorial History of England," vol. i. p. 834.

to the expulsion of the Jews, was usually supplied by the Lombard and Tuscan merchants, some of whom became large creditors to the English exchequer, and were allowed to farm the customs for their security. Two great Italian firms, the Bardi and Peruzzi, were reduced to bankruptcy in 1345 by the inability or neglect of Edward III. to repay the enormous debt which he had incurred to them for the expenses of the French war.

A succession of royal and princely marriages allied the Plantagenet dynasty with Spain, France, Flanders, Italy, and Germany in turn, and the foreign attendants whom each bride brought in her train must have formed a considerable element in the household of the Court. More than one instance is recorded of intermarriages between them and English subjects, and there were, doubtless, others which have escaped mention. Foreign favourites, of whom the Gascon, Piers Gaveston, was a prominent example, were occasionally raised to distinction by the sovereign, and won the hands of wealthy English heiresses. One of Edward III.'s most famous captains, Sir Walter de Maunay, was a native of Hainault, and probably other of his countrymen were attracted by his successful career to serve under the illustrious conqueror of Crecy and Poitiers. The influences derived from these sources, however, scarcely proved durable enough, or operated upon a sufficiently large scale, to be taken into account as aids to our national growth.

A stream of foreign influence still continued to flow from the Papacy as the fountain of spiritual

authority in Christendom, but its force was considerably checked by the removal of the Papal court from Rome to Avignon, which implied subordination to France, and by the steady resistance of Parliament to its encroachments upon the freedom of the national Church. The "Lollard" movement, of which Wycliff was the leader, was at the outset a revolt on behalf of this freedom, though it subsequently developed into a protest against Romish corruptions of the faith of Christ. The rapid growth and eventual suppression of this movement, as matters of domestic history, do not here concern us, but its memory cannot be dissociated from the great religious reform of the sixteenth century, which it faintly foreshadowed.

The foreign contributions to our development during the fourteenth century that chiefly call for attention are those which concern the consolidation and enrichment of the language and literature. Although English had long since asserted its dominance over French as the vernacular tongue, and was beginning to supersede it as a written tongue, it was not until past the middle of the century that this was publicly recognised. In 1363 the sitting of Parliament was opened by an English speech, and in the previous year an Act was passed (36 Edward III. cap. 15) prescribing that the pleadings in an action should be argued in English instead of French, while the enrolment of the proceedings was to be in Latin. Sir John de Mandeville, whose "*Voiage and Travells*," written in 1356, is among our earliest writings in prose, translated it from the Latin, in which he first

composed it, into French, and then into English, "that every man of my nation may understand it." In 1385, we are told by the chronicler Trevisa that, "in alle the grammar scoles of Engeland children leveth Frensche and construeth and lerneth on Engliche." French, however, still continued to be the language of the Court and the upper classes, and it was employed in drawing up the Rolls of Parliament, as well as in private deeds and letters for more than a century later. Having remained in use for so long a period side by side with the popular tongue, a considerable number of its words had been adopted into our vocabulary, and many of its modes of pronunciation and metrical accentuation were still in vogue. This is more apparent in the literature of the fourteenth than in that of the thirteenth century, which contains a larger percentage of Saxon words, and conforms more strictly to the alliterative method of versification which prevailed before the Norman Conquest. Even Lawrence Minot and William Langlande, the most eminent of the poets who preceded Gower and Chaucer, and the nearest to them in point of date, show fewer traces of French influence than either. The several conditions of their birth or training, and the circumstances which called forth the exercise of their individual powers, sufficiently account for this. Minot, whose poems are in the nature of brief ballad-epics, which were inspired by the victories of Edward III. in his wars with France and Scotland, employed a north-country dialect which would scarcely have been intelligible to natives of other parts of England, and may be presumed to

have written them for a provincial audience, chiefly composed of soldiers drawn from the middle class. Langlande, who appears to have been a priest, of humble extraction, and a native of Shropshire, wrote his moral and satirical allegory, the "Visions" of Piers the Ploughman, in the special interest of the class who in his time (about 1362) were groaning under the weight of feudal oppression. To adopt the words of a recent critic, "the narrowness, the misery, the monotony of the life he paints reflect themselves in his verse."¹ Gower, on the other hand, was of gentle birth, and possessed estates in Kent and other counties, while he lived in London, and was often at the Court. His "Speculum Amantis" (now lost) and a series of "Ballades" were written in French, for the imperfection of which he apologises, indeed, on the ground that he is "English," but justifies himself for using the language because he is writing "al université de tout le monde." The "Ballades" have love for their theme, and he imitated the tone in which it was treated by the Provençal troubadours and Norman *trouvères*, whose form of rhymed verse he adopted. His "Vox Clamantis," composed in Latin, is a didactic allegory, suggested by the popular insurrection of 1381, which the poet regards in the light of a judicial retribution for the social sins of the age. Gower's last work, the "Confessio Amantis," although written in English, which he was induced to adopt by the example of Chaucer, is expounded by means of a marginal Latin

¹ Green's "Short History of the English People," p. 249.

commentary. The poem appears to have been suggested by the "Roman de la Rose," a popular French poem. It was obviously addressed to a cultivated audience, being in the form of a confession made by a despairing lover to Genius, the priest of Venus, whom, at his prayer, she appoints to receive it. The fatal effects of each passion which the lover confesses that he has experienced are illustrated by the priest in a series of stories drawn from various sources, including the Bible, the works of Ovid, the "Gesta Romanorum," and many other mediæval romances and chronicles. The alchemical lore and scholastic learning which the author had acquired are copiously infused into his work. He employs the eight-syllabled, rhymed couplets of the "Roman de la Rose," and a larger number of French words than Chaucer. There is scarcely a trace in his verse of the alliteration which is so abundant in the verse of Minot and Langlande.

Chaucer, with whom Gower cannot be compared in point of genius, transcended him no less in the range of his culture, if he may be admitted to have been inferior in learning. Though sprung from the burgess class, he obviously must have received a scholarly education, and at an early age was admitted to a post in the household of one of the royal princes. After serving in the French campaign of 1359-60, and being taken prisoner, he was ransomed, and returned home to become valet of the chamber to Edward III. He was next employed in foreign negotiations on behalf of the Crown, and visited Genoa and Florence in 1372. In the course of this

journey he is supposed to have met Petrarch, and was certainly indebted to it for the acquaintance which he shows with the writings of that poet, as well as those of Dante and Boccaccio. He next filled the office of Comptroller of the Customs in the port of London ; was again employed as a royal envoy in France and Italy in 1376-82 ; was appointed to another post in the Customs in the latter year, and sat as one of the knights of the shire for Kent in 1386. He subsequently filled the office of Clerk of the King's Works, and, though under some cloud during the closing years of his life, retained the favour of both Richard II. and Henry IV. as his patrons, and died in 1400 within the precincts of the palace, wherein it is probable that his audience chiefly resided. The evidences of French culture and modes in his verse cannot under these circumstances be a matter for surprise ; and it is rather to be wondered at that in spite of them he should have remained so predominantly English in the scope of his observation and so uncourtierlike in the breadth of his sympathies. It has been well said by his latest biographer, Mr. Ward, that "in him the mixture of Frenchman and Englishman is still in a sense incomplete, as that of their language is in the diction of his poems."¹ Among his earliest efforts was a translation of the favourite French poem, the "*Roman de la Rose*" of Guillaume de Lorris and Jean de Meung, already referred to ; a motley production wherein, owing to its double authorship, the allegorical refinement of

¹ "English Men of Letters : Chaucer," p. 45.

chivalry was incongruously blended with the coarseness of mediæval satire. Chaucer's next important poem, the "Book of the Duchess," a lament upon the death of Blanche, the wife of John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, owes several of its graceful touches to the French poet, Machault, whose version of Ovid's "Metamorphoses" appears to have been before him when he preluded the dream which is the vehicle of his elegy by a reference to the love-story of Ceyx and Alcyone. Between the production of this and of his later works, Chaucer paid his first visit to Italy, where he was privileged to witness the spectacle of that marvellous dawn of the Renaissance which had set the genius of Dante, Petrarch, and Boccaccio aglow. The inspiring influence of their literary masterpieces is henceforth traceable in his own. His "Troilus and Cressid" is founded upon the "Filostrato" of Boccaccio, although his version of the story is considerably modified, and includes "several remarkable reminiscences of Dante." His "Assembly of Fowles" includes a translation from Boccaccio's "Teseide." In the "House of Fame," which is apparently original in its conception, he has borrowed touches from Dante and Petrarch, as well as from classical sources. The "Legend of Good Women" is mainly drawn from Ovid's "Heroides" and Boccaccio's "De Claris Mulieribus." His greatest work, the immortal "Canterbury Tales," essentially English as it is in tone and colouring, not improbably owes its plan to the "Decamerone" of Boccaccio. The franklin's, the shipman's, and the reeve's tales are taken from that work, while the

knight's tale of Palamon and Arcite is transferred from the same writer's "Teseide." The clerk's tale was translated from a Latin romance by Petrarch. Dante's "Inferno" was the source of the monk's tale of Ugolino and his sons. The nun's priest's tale is drawn from the "Roman de Renart." The pardoner's tale is apparently founded upon a *fabliau*, of which an Italian version is still extant. Chaucer's own "Tale of Melibœus" seems to be a version from a French translation of another Italian original. The nun's tale is taken from the "Golden Legend" of Jacobus a Voragine. The parson's tale is "partly adapted from a popular French religious manual." Some of the sources of the remaining tales have not been traced, but, in the opinion of the competent critic above cited, "not a single one of these tales can, with any show of reason, be ascribed to Chaucer's own invention. French literature . . . doubtless supplied the larger share of his materials." Besides the debt which he owed to the great Italian masters for the motive and structure of so many of his stories, Chaucer more than once acknowledges his obligation to their thoughts and language. He was indebted to both French and Italian literature for his forms of verse, borrowing the eight-syllabled couplet and the rhymed quatrain from the Provençal and Norman poets, and the seven-lined stanza, which was a special favourite with him, from the *ottava rima* of Boccaccio, by omitting the fifth line. While the syntax of his language was substantially English, his idioms were often French, and he "used a number of French and Gallicised Latin words not

found in other English writers of his time." A considerable number of these words were "in a manner forced upon" him and his fellow-poet Gower by "the necessities of rhyme,"¹ in which our language is notoriously poor, as compared with the French and other Romance tongues.

In the department of theological literature, the influence of foreign thought and learning upon the mind of Wycliff, the herald of the Reformation in England, cannot be wholly ignored. He was master of Balliol College, Oxford, when he first came forward as the champion of the independence of the English Church and the civil power against the autocratic claims of the Papal see, and was then recognised as one of the greatest schoolmen of his time. His indebtedness to William de St. Amour, Ockham, and other of his predecessors who inherited the philosophical traditions of the Parisian university, is acknowledged in one of his treatises ("De Ordinatione Fratrum"), and his theory of "dominion," as already stated, is a bold attempt to carry Ockham's principles to their legitimate result. There is some reason to think, from a reference in another of his treatises ("De Triplici Vinculo Amoris") to a German translation of the Bible, which is known to have existed in the fourteenth century, that he may have seen a copy of it ; but it is questionable whether he could have derived any assistance from it in making his own translation from the Vulgate in 1380-3. The homely, nervous English of this work,

¹ Marsh, "Lectures on the English Language," pp. 116, 117.

and of the tracts which he scattered broadcast among the people, attests how thoroughly he assimilated whatever culture he had imbibed. In spite of this, however, the proportion of French words in his vocabulary has been estimated by Mr. Marsh to be as large "as occurs in those of Chaucer's works where they are most numerous."¹

Though strictly belonging to French literature, it would be impossible to omit reference to the Chronicle of Jean Froissart, on account of the light which it throws upon our history during the fourteenth century. The author was for some time resident in England, where he held the appointment of secretary or clerk of the chamber to Queen Phillippa.

To the fifteenth century probably belong several poems which were formerly attributed to Chaucer, but have been assigned by recent critics, upon what appears to be sufficient grounds, to a later period. "The Court of Love," "The Cuckoo and the Nightingale," and "The Flower and the Leaf" are the most remarkable of the number, and may be credited to disciples of the master who had drunk at the same sources which inspired his genius. They are all mystical allegories of the Provençal type of poetry, and must have been written for a courtly and cultivated audience, but the love of wild nature which animates the writers is thoroughly in harmony with English taste. John Lydgate, a monk of the monastery of Bury St. Edmunds, was also a follower

¹ Marsh, *ut supra*

of Chaucer. His "Falls of Princes," a poem written in the seven-lined Chaucerian stanza, is founded upon a French version of Boccaccio's "*De Casibus Illustrium Virorum*." His "Storie of Thebes" is drawn from a mediæval romance based upon the "Thebaid" of Statius, and his "Troy Book" from a French translation of the "*Historia Trojana*" of Guido della Colonna.

Two momentous events, which render the fifteenth century memorable in the history of the world, are prominent among the foreign contributions to our development. The invention of printing, although a few years later than the dispersion of Greek scholars consequent upon the fall of Constantinople, takes precedence of it, as having affected us first. The use of movable types, by John Gutenberg, of Mayence, dates from the year 1438; but the printing of the Mazarin Bible, which was the crowning success of his partnership with John Fust, was not completed until 1455. Twenty years later, the invention was communicated to England by William Caxton, who acquired the knowledge of it at Cologne. He was a native of Kent, and apprenticed to a mercer in London, but spent the best part of his life in the Low Countries, and held an appointment in the service of Margaret, Duchess of Burgundy, sister of Edward IV. At Bruges, in 1469, he began a translation of the "Recuyell of the Historyes of Troye," from the French of Raoul le Fevre, and finished it at Cologne in 1471. Another translation which he made from the French, and entitled "The Game and Playe of the Chesse," is supposed to be the first book which he printed

after his return to England in 1474, where he set up his press in the Almonry of Westminster Abbey. The first book which bears his *imprimatur* there is "The Dictes and Sayings of Philosophers," translated from the French by Anthony Woodville, Lord Rivers. It was followed by a series of devotional manuals, romances, and legends, chiefly translated from the same language, but including one (the famous story of Reynard the Fox) from the German. The most precious and delightful of all his publications, the "Morte D'Arthur" of Sir Thomas Malory, was avowedly a digest of the principal French romances embodying the Arthurian legends. In the existing dearth of native literature, the press continued for some years longer to be fed almost exclusively by versions of foreign works.

The revival of classical learning in Italy, which stimulated the genius of Chaucer in the fourteenth century, continued to find English sympathisers in the century following. Its most influential patron was Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, younger brother of Henry V. One Italian scholar, Titus Livius, was dignified by the title of his "court poet and orator." Another dedicated to him a translation of Aristotle's "Politics," and a third sent him a partial translation of Plato's "Republic." Woodville, Earl Rivers, and Tiptoft, Earl of Worcester, were no less eminent for their culture and the munificent patronage which they extended to scholars.

The introduction, however, of the study of Greek literature into England was due to the efforts of William Grocyn and Thomas Linacre, both of whom

had travelled in Italy and been pupils of Demetrius Chalcondylas, an eminent scholar, who, after the fall of Constantinople, settled as a teacher at Florence. Grocyn, who was a fellow of New College and prebendary of Lincoln, established himself at Exeter College, Oxford, in 1491, as a lecturer in Greek, devoting his attention chiefly to the study of Aristotle. Linacre, a M.D. of the same university, after his return from Florence, prosecuted his studies in the interest of his profession, and put forth a translation of Galen. The reputation of Oxford as a nursery of Greek scholarship was recognised in 1497, when Erasmus came over from Paris with the special object of becoming a student. Among the friends whom he made during this visit were More, Colet, and Fisher, who were all adepts of "the new learning," as it was called, and with whose names his own was thenceforth illustriously associated. Colet was stimulated by his strong devotional feeling to apply his skill to an independent study of the New Testament, which resulted in his partial emancipation from the doctrinal yoke of Romish theology. His lectures on St. Paul's Epistles, given at Oxford in 1496, foreshadowed many of the simple and rational conceptions of the Christian faith to which the Reformers gave fuller and clearer expression a few years later.

The only arts which flourished in England at this period were architecture, sculpture, and music, none of which has left much trace of its indebtedness to foreign influences. Certain exceptions, however, to this rule may be found, such as the effigy of William de Valence, in Westminster Abbey, made of ham-

mered copper, enriched with *champ-levé* enamels, which was probably the work of a Limoges artist.

Our obligation to the Low Countries for one great branch of industry has already been recorded. To Germany we are debtors for a more equivocal boon. The invention of gunpowder, attributed to a German chemist, Schwartz, was communicated to this country in the fourteenth century, and cannon of a rude construction were employed in the Scotch and French wars of Edward III. The execution which they wrought at the battle of Crecy greatly contributed to its victorious issue. From one of the Continental states England likewise derived the use of linen paper, which was an earlier invention, but did not become general until the end of the fifteenth century. As ancillary to printing, it materially assisted to the spread of literary culture.

CHAPTER III.

Foreign influences during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries from the accession of Henry VII. to the death of Henry VIII.

THE accession of Henry VII. to the throne is a memorable landmark in our history, not merely as signalling the termination of the intestinal struggle which had rent the country asunder, but as inaugurating a dynasty which embodied the principal racial elements of the English nation. Of pure Celtic blood by his father's side, and inheriting the romantic characteristics of the Celtic temperament, Henry was descended upon his mother's side from John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, whose ancestor, Henry II., united in his veins the blood of the Norman and of the Saxon kings.

The only incidents in this reign that call for notice are the foreign alliances with Spain and Scotland, which Henry effected by the marriage of his children in 1501 and 1502, both of them destined to have important consequences upon the future history of the nation. The policy of an alliance with Spain, which had recently become united into a strong and settled monarchy by the marriage of Ferdinand of Aragon with Isabella of Castile, was dictated by the hope of obtaining their friendship as a check upon the power of France, together with that of the

Austrian Archduke Philip, who had married their daughter Juana. As the Duke was ruler of the Low Countries, which had descended to him from his mother, Mary of Burgundy, it was not less necessary to secure his aid or neutrality in the event of war with France. This consideration appears to have finally decided Henry's acceptance of an offer, which Ferdinand and Isabella had made him a few years after his accession, to give their daughter Catherine in marriage to his eldest son, Arthur. When the young Prince died, three months after the wedding, the Spanish monarchs urged that his brother Henry, who was now heir to the throne, should marry Catherine. A dispensation for this breach of canonical law was with some difficulty obtained from the Pope, Julius II., upon assurance being given that the first marriage had not been consummated. Henry's characteristic caution to avoid a false step induced him, while consenting to the betrothal of his son with the Infanta, to postpone their marriage, and this event did not take place until after the Prince's accession to the throne as Henry VIII.

The marriage of Margaret, daughter of Henry VII., with James IV. of Scotland, was memorable as constituting the foundation of that claim to the succession of the English crown which her grand-daughter, Mary Stuart, subsequently employed as an engine against the stability of Elizabeth's government, and which was eventually recognised by the junction of the two kingdoms under one sovereign in the person of James I. of England and VI. of Scotland.

The racial accessions made during this period

were few, and none of them upon a large scale.¹ The most important was the consummation of a result already partly achieved. The tendency of the conquest of Wales by Edward I., and of the legislation by which he secured its possession, as shown in the last chapter, was to break down the barrier which had existed between the purely Celtic population of the principality and the predominantly Teutonic inhabitants of England; but the amalgamation thus effected was necessarily gradual, and was greatly retarded by the concession of partial independence in point of law and custom which Edward had wisely and humanely yielded to his new subjects. The practical working of this mode of local government, which involved the establishment of a separate exchequer and judicature and the retention of many privileged districts, was attended with so much inconvenience that its abolition was decreed in the reign of Henry VIII. By a statute of 1536 the laws of the Principality were assimilated to those of England. The privileged lordships were disfranchised, Monmouth was made an English county, and the Welsh counties and boroughs were enfranchised to return members to the English parliament. The result of this assimilation between the laws and customs of the two countries was to obliterate all social distinction between Celt and Teuton, and bring them into more intimate contact. The accession to the throne of Henry VII. had already gratified the

¹ Occasional immigrations from Scotland during the reign of Henry VIII. are recorded in grants of denization upon the Patent Rolls of Chancery.

utmost ambition of his compatriots, and thenceforth no avenue was closed to their success. In the illustrious roll of our national statesmen, divines, soldiers, and men of letters, Welshmen from this time forward take equal rank with Englishmen.

The chief aids to its development which the country derived from without were in the direction of intellectual progress and religious reform. The stimulus imparted by "the new learning" of the Renaissance to the vigorous, earnest natures of such men as Colet and More was fruitful of beneficent work. Colet, who took orders and attained the rank of Dean of St. Paul's, London, devoted his fortune to the foundation and endowment of a grammar-school in connexion with his church, and placed at its head William Lilly, one of the best Greek scholars of his time. The injunctions of the founder aimed at the union of rational religion with sound learning, at the exclusion of the scholastic logic, and at the steady diffusion of the two classical literatures.¹ His example was followed by many wealthy and liberal-minded laymen, and the number of grammar-schools which sprang up during the latter part of the reign of Henry VIII. is said to have exceeded those founded during the three centuries previous. At both the universities the study of Greek was prosecuted with an enthusiasm which overcame the opposition of authorities who were wedded to antiquated methods of teaching. Erasmus was summoned to be its exponent at Cambridge, where he remained a short time, and was succeeded by Latimer and Croke. At

¹ Green's "History of the English People," vol. ii. p. 86.

Oxford, Fox, Bishop of Winchester, augmented his foundation of Corpus Christi College by the addition of a Greek lecture, and its study held a prominent place in the curriculum of Cardinal College, which was splendidly endowed by Henry's great minister, Thomas Wolsey. Fostered by the encouragement of the young King, who was himself a scholar of considerable acquirements, with a strong theological bias, the new learning found a yet more influential patron in Warham, the enlightened prelate who filled the see of Canterbury. Under the Primate's auspices, Erasmus came over to England, and was assisted by a yearly pension to prosecute his literary undertakings. His edition of St. Jerome's works was commenced during his stay at Cambridge, and on its publication was dedicated to the Archbishop. The frankness with which the great scholar in his preface deprecated the establishment of dogmas by the authority of synods and councils, and advocated a return to the simplest creed of Christianity as the best safeguard against heresy, testified to a conviction that Warham shared his belief. A yet more daring step was his production of a new edition of the Greek Testament in 1516, also the outcome of his labours at Cambridge. "In itself the book was a bold defiance of theological tradition. It set aside the Latin version of the Vulgate which had secured universal acceptance in the Church. Its method of interpretation was based, not on received dogmas, but on the literal meaning of the text."¹ It depreciated the ecclesiastical system of veiling the faith in a web of subtle mystery, which

¹ Green's "History of the English People," vol. ii. p. 95.

was obscure to all but a few theologians, in favour of a plain and popular diffusion of the words of Christ himself, and expressed the editor's fervent wish that they might be translated into all languages, and simplified to the comprehension of the poorest and humblest readers. Notwithstanding its boldness, the work of Erasmus was warmly approved by Warham, who lent it to one Bishop after another. Two of his brother-prelates, Fox, of Winchester, and Fisher, of Rochester, heartily seconded his endeavours, and the version was widely circulated and as eagerly discussed.

The serious work of reform which Erasmus had at heart he further strove to aid by the instrument of satire. His "Praise of Folly," which impartially ridicules the prevalent errors and mischievous tendencies of the age, whether arising from royal ambition or ecclesiastical bigotry, the darkness of the cloister or the narrowness of the schools, was written in England at the house of Sir Thomas More, and owes its Latin title (*Moriæ Encomium*) to a pun upon his host's name. The "Utopia" of More (written in 1515-6), which embodied the writer's ideal of a perfect commonwealth, is animated by the same spirit, and not improbably reflects some of the interchanged brilliancy of thought which the companionship of two such congenial intellects would have been sure to evoke. One of the most remarkable features in More's conception is his anticipation of the principle of religious toleration, every subject of his imaginary state being at liberty to choose and practise any faith most agreeable to his conscience,

and to persuade others to adopt it, provided he abstains from reviling his opponents. This and many another dream of social reform were impossible of realisation for centuries later, but no measures of practical improvement were neglected which the adherents of the new learning thought it possible to carry. Colet was especially energetic in urging upon the clergy the duty of faithfulness to their sacred profession, denouncing in outspoken terms, from his official post at the Convocation of 1512, the "vicious and depraved lives" of many among them as more fatal to Church and State than heresy, and exhorting the Bishops to initiate the movement of reform by working diligently in their dioceses instead of seeking worldly favours at court. The Dean's earnest frankness brought down upon him the censure of his diocesan, who accused him of heresy; but he was secured by the protection of Warham and the encouragement of the young King from any serious consequences.

While these stirrings of new life were agitating the Church in England, a stronger and deeper movement was convulsing it on the Continent. A reaction against the spiritual blindness, intellectual tyranny, and moral insensibility into which the faith of Christendom had fallen under the Papacy, had long been gathering strength, and, headed by such born leaders of men as Luther and Calvin, the army of reform began to muster in force. Luther's violent rupture with Rome took place in 1520, when, his protest against the system of "indulgences" having been authoritatively condemned by Leo X., he boldly

flung the Bull into the fire, and proceeded to repudiate the Papal authority as usurped and fictitious. It is not surprising that a step so daring and uncompromising as this should at the outset have been discountenanced or reprehended by those in England who were most favourable to the cause of moderate reformation. More, Fisher, and the adherents of the new learning generally, remained steadfast to the traditional faith of Catholic unity, and desired only to purge it from the excrescences which were sapping its vitality. Sympathy from this quarter with the German and Swiss reformers, moreover, was effectually checked by the hostile tone which they adopted in regard to the culture and development of the intellect which it was the leading aim of the Renaissance to effect. Luther's repudiation of reason as an adequate basis of faith, and his inclination to substitute a new system of subtle and dogmatic theology for the old one which he had rejected, but with no better title to be held authoritative, alienated from him the countenance of such men as Erasmus, who had hitherto stood his friend. The violent excesses into which some of the Continental reformers were betrayed, and the want of unity apparent in such divergencies of belief as separated the parties of Luther and Carlstadt, further tended to hinder the growth of Protestant sentiment in this country. The "Assertion of the Seven Sacraments," which was put forth by Henry VIII. in answer to Luther, won for its author the Papal honours of a golden Bull and the title of "Defender of the Faith." The reformer's intemperate reply to this publication was followed up by counter-attacks

from More and Fisher. The antagonism thus engendered led to a final breach between the adherents of the new learning in England and the Reformation, but it did not check the spread of that movement among a humbler class, who were content with little more knowledge than sufficed for their spiritual wants. The republication by Luther of Wycliff's pamphlets revived the traditions of Lollardry, which had perhaps never wholly died out.

In 1526, the English translation of the New Testament, published by William Tyndale, realised the hope of Erasmus, that the Christian Scriptures might be brought within the reach and comprehension of poor and unlearned readers. The greater part of Luther's preface to his translation, and most of his marginal references and glosses, are reproduced in Tyndale's version. Printed at Cologne and Worms by the aid of funds provided by English sympathisers, an edition of 6,000 copies was brought over and extensively circulated. The merchants of the German Hanse were active propagandists of the Lutheran pamphlets in London, and an English association was soon formed, under the name of "Christian Brethren," for the dissemination of Protestant literature through the country at large. This association had branches at both the universities. At Cambridge, three leading teachers, Barnes, Latimer, and Bilney, were known to be in accord with the Lutheran party. At Oxford, Clark and other members of Cardinal College secretly held meetings for Scriptural reading and discussion. Attempts were made by Wolsey to stem the movement, both in London and Oxford; some of the

Hanse merchants being compelled to submit to a penance at St. Paul's, at which their Lutheran publications were burnt, and many of the "Christian Brethren" at Oxford being imprisoned; but no severe measures of repression were intended, either by the Cardinal, who was indifferent to all but political objects, or by the King, who was afraid of mischief resulting to the students of the new learning. The circulation of Tyndale's version was, indeed, forbidden, its use of such Lutheran terms as "congregation" and "elder" (in place of "church" and "priest") procuring its condemnation even by Warham and More; but so great was the demand for copies that means were found to evade the prohibition.

The rapid progress of ecclesiastical reform which signalises the reign of Henry VIII. was brought about by a conjunction of several causes, the most influential of which were personal, rather than political or religious, and were modified, though not called into operation, by external circumstances. Foremost of these personal causes was the desire of the King to put away his Queen, who had borne him one daughter, Mary, but no male heir, and whose claims on his affection had been superseded by the attractions of one of her maids of honour, Anne Boleyn. The doubtful legality of a marriage with his brother's widow, already adverted to, afforded a plausible pretext for obtaining a divorce, but the negotiations which he opened with Pope Clement VII. for this purpose were doomed to failure. The Pope was not less hampered by the difficulty of abrogating the

dispensation by which his predecessor had made the marriage valid than by the fear of offending the Emperor Charles V., who, as the nephew of Catherine (viz., the son of Philip, Archduke of Austria, and her sister Juana), was pledged to her cause. The unique position which Charles occupied as ruler of Spain, Austria, the Netherlands, Franche Comté, and Naples, and titular representative of the Roman Empire, not only gave him the predominant power in Italy, but a commanding influence throughout Europe, where the Papacy anxiously regarded him as its mainstay against the increasing force of the Lutheran heresy. While Wolsey remained Henry's minister, his policy was favourable to the preservation of friendly relations between England and the Papacy, in spite of the opposition which the Pope persistently offered to the King's wishes. But Wolsey had powerful enemies abroad as well as at home, and his influence was waning at the very time when it required to be strong. His rapid rise from a humble origin to be successively Bishop of Lincoln and Winchester, Archbishop of York, Chancellor, Cardinal, and Papal Legate, his towering ambition, vast wealth, and splendid pomp, aroused the envy and hatred of the high-born nobles whom he had displaced. In the part that he took in the contest between Charles V. and Francis I., which, occasioned by the elevation of the former to the imperial throne in 1519, convulsed Europe with war, Wolsey seems to have been actuated by two principal motives. The first was to aggrandise Henry's importance, and flatter the idle dream of "recovering his French inheritance," upon which he wasted two

inglorious campaigns ; the second was to procure his own elevation to the Papal chair. He pushed these ends by making treaties of alliance with each of the rivals in turn, as their prospects of success fluctuated, so as to throw the weight of England into the winning scale, and rise to fortune by the help of the victor. Charles and Francis, however, were alike too astute to be deceived by this policy. Henry was discredited by both as an ally, and, when victory declared itself on the side of Charles, his promise to support the Cardinal's candidature at the next Papal election was unredeemed. The intrigues with France and Rome, by which the wily minister subsequently sought to achieve Henry's aim of obtaining a divorce and to hold the power of Charles in check, were ultimately foiled. The Pope remained obdurate, a peace was concluded between Charles and Francis, and Wolsey's diplomacy was again disgraced. His unpopularity at home extended from the nobles to the commons, owing to the zeal with which he attempted to replenish the exhausted exchequer by means of exorbitant taxes and forced benevolences, which were sturdily resisted by laity and clergy alike. His resentment against Catherine for her consistent support of an alliance between England and Spain sharpened his eagerness to forward the King's project of divorcing her, but his failure to accomplish that purpose without involving an absolute defiance of Papal authority, added to the necessity of making a sacrifice to propitiate the Emperor, with whom Henry was forced to be reconciled, precipitated the Cardinal's fall.

The breach thus opened between Henry and the

Papal see was resolutely kept open and widened by Thomas Cromwell, who rose into power after the fall of Wolsey. It is to him that the chief measures of practical reform in the Church effected during the reign are primarily due. In the personal character and public policy of Cromwell there are traces of indebtedness to foreign influences which cannot be overlooked. The son of an armourer at Putney, he served when a youth in the Italian wars; and then obtained employment as agent to a merchant at Venice; subsequently trading successfully upon his own account in other parts of the Continent; and, returning to spend his wealth in England, entered political life in the service of Wolsey. With the mastery that he had acquired of the language of Italy, he absorbed many of the principles which actuated the Italian statesmen of the age, of whom the most famous, Machiavelli, was his favourite author, and fearlessly applied them in practice as opportunity offered. The concentration of civil and ecclesiastical power in the hands of the Crown by a gradual succession of encroachments upon the functions of Parliament and the authority of the Papal see, the ruthless extirpation of all possible claims to rivalry, and the unscrupulous employment of intrigue, terrorism, and espionage as agencies to effect his ends, were the prominent features of Cromwell's policy. Subversive as it temporarily was of the foundations of constitutional liberty, and detestable as were the means employed in its accomplishment, it undoubtedly achieved the conquest of spiritual tyranny of which we are still reaping the benefit.

Before the rupture between Henry and the Papacy was complete, the strongholds of the Church in England had already been successfully assailed. Upon the petition of the Commons, instigated by the ministers of the Crown, a bill was brought in for restricting the clergy from pluralities and lay employments, and diminishing the fees of the ecclesiastical courts, and, notwithstanding the resistance of the Bishops, it passed both Houses. The power of Convocation was the next object of attack. In 1531 that body was forced to atone by a heavy fine for a breach of the Statute of Provisors, which forbade the procuring of Bulls from Rome, and to acknowledge the King as "the chief protector, the only and supreme Lord and Head of the Church and Clergy of England." The effect of this acknowledgment was apparent in the year following, when a petition, nominally proceeding from the same body, was addressed to the King that all enactments relating to the Church might henceforth be made and executed by his sole authority, and that the payment of "first-fruits," or the yearly proceeds of each see, which a Bishop upon his election used to render to the Pope, might be suspended. The final refusal of Clement VII., backed by the support of the Emperor, to disannul Henry's marriage with Catherine, which he accompanied by a threat of excommunication unless Anne Boleyn were put away, was a virtual declaration of war. Cromwell responded by the passing of the Act of Supremacy, which vested all ecclesiastical authority and control in the Crown, reduced the spiritual courts to an equality with the

temporal, and formally declared the King to be "the only supreme Head upon Earth of the Church of England." The minister was speedily raised by Henry to the post of Vicar-general in ecclesiastical affairs, and proceeded to execute his function with unsparing rigour. By an Act passed at his instance, the Bishops, who since the reign of Edward III. had been appointed by the Pope at the nomination of the Crown, were henceforth to be appointed by the Crown at the formal nomination of the Deans and Chapters, who, however, were restricted to the particular candidates commended to their choice. The religious houses were next attacked. A partial suppression of the lesser monasteries had already been effected by Wolsey, but a thousand still remained undisturbed. Their absorption of vast wealth and influence was not compensated by a corresponding possession of culture and virtue, the opposition of the monks as a body to the new learning and the laxity of their lives being matters of common repute. The result of a general visitation of the religious houses, instituted by a royal commission, which was reported to Parliament in 1536, confirmed the worst suspicions entertained of their moral condition. The long neglect of that due supervision over them which the Papal and diocesan authorities were theoretically bound to exercise, had fostered the growth of self-indulgent and dissolute habits openly at variance with the life of abstinence and saintliness which was the original ideal of monasticism. About a third only of the number were found to be creditably conducted, the

bulk being accused of gross, and in some cases monstrous, immorality. After a long parliamentary debate, the dissolution and confiscation of those monasteries whose revenues did not amount to £200 a year were enacted in 1536, and this Act was followed by the suppression of the remaining houses in 1539.

The sweeping character of these measures, and the violence and harshness with which they were often executed, gave offence to the moderate reformers, and provoked a partial reaction in the public mind, which led to some deplorable consequences. Sir Thomas More and Bishop Fisher were both sacrificed to the pitiless rigour with which Cromwell strove to bind individual consciences under the yoke of monarchical supremacy. The revolt in the northern counties, known as "the Pilgrimage of Grace," was the most important of the symptoms of popular disaffection, but the determination with which it was suppressed prevented their recurrence. Some of the steps by which Cromwell proceeded to enforce his policy of subordinating all control to that of the Crown, such as "gagging" the secular clergy and dictating the topics upon which they were to be permitted to preach, were mischievous in themselves and fatal to the cause of reformation, but other of his measures could not have been more temperately conceived had they been projected by Colet or More. The articles of belief which in the King's name were submitted to Convocation in 1536 embodied the substance of several tenets for which Luther had been contending, and which many devout Catholics,

even at Rome, were willing to adopt, viz., the acceptance of justification by faith, and a modified theory of transubstantiation; the reduction of the seven sacraments to three, viz., baptism, penance, and the mass; the rejection of the doctrine of purgatory, with its concomitants, the purchase of pardons and masses for the dead; and the observance of existing forms of worship. The suppression of pilgrimages, the diminution of holy-days, and the condemnation of relics and images were successively enjoined by royal proclamation. As a compensation for the prohibition of Tyndale's version of the New Testament, the Bishops were instructed to prepare a revised translation of the Bible, and, as they delayed its performance, the work was entrusted to Miles Coverdale, a friend of Cranmer (who had by this time succeeded Warham in the see of Canterbury), and it was put forth in 1536 with the express sanction of the King. It is described in the title-page as "translated out of Douche (German) and Latin into English."

The Lutheran princes of Germany were now engaged in securing themselves by a defensive alliance against the Emperor, and Cromwell, who discerned the wisdom of making common cause with them, persuaded Henry to open negotiations with that object. They were favourably received, but the princes stipulated for an association on the ground of principle as well as policy, and to this the King was constrained to assent. The above-mentioned articles of belief were the formal expression of this agreement, and effect was given to them by the

appointment to vacant sees of Bishops with Lutheran leanings.

Notwithstanding these indications that the reformed Anglican Church was approaching a community of doctrine and ritual with the Lutheran congregations of the Continent, the course of events did not proceed much further in this direction, and the eventual alliance of the Church was with the Calvinistic school, which was as yet in the background. Meantime, the heterodox sects, which also sprang into life at this revolutionary period, more particularly in Germany, were not without adherents and sympathisers in England. After the storming of Münster in 1535, several of the fugitive Anabaptists took refuge here. Two of their leading preachers, Hoffmann and Niclaes, established congregations ; the latter being the founder of a sect called "the Family of Love," which held Unitarian views. These memorials are not without interest in connexion with the growth of English Nonconformity.

Except in Ireland, where the measures of doctrinal and practical reform enacted by the legislature were obstinately disobeyed by the bulk of the clergy and the people, the changes which they effected were acquiesced in by the nation as a whole, and heartily approved by a considerable section of it. As repeatedly happens in such crises, however, the zeal of a few fanatical spirits carried them into excesses which outraged the religious feeling of the moderate party and provoked irritation and alarm in the minds of the King and many leading members of both Houses of Parliament. The violence with which

shrines and relics long sacred to popular belief were despoiled and burned, the open breach of their vows of celibacy by the Protestant clergy, the controversial bitterness to which the promulgation of the English Bible everywhere gave rise, the ribaldry of the language publicly employed during the celebration of the mass, and the insults offered to those who still adhered to the faith and rites of their fathers, sufficiently account for the setting-in of a reactionary movement which temporarily checked the progress of the Reformation. By an Act passed in 1539, in spite of the utmost opposition of Cranmer, Latimer, and other Bishops, six articles of belief and worship were enacted to be binding upon the Church, viz., transubstantiation, communion in one kind by the laity, clerical celibacy, the sanctity of monastic vows, private mass, and auricular confession. The severest penalties, culminating in death by the stake, were denounced against those who denied the first doctrine or infringed any of the others a second time. The Act was immediately put into effect, as many as 500 persons in London being indicted for breaches of it. Bishops Latimer and Shaxton were thrown into prison, and the former obliged to surrender his see.

At this point, however, the tide of reaction was stayed by Cromwell, whose policy was really favourable to the Protestant movement, while he desired to hold it under control. He accordingly let the indictments drop, restrained zealous magistrates from the further prosecution of offenders against the Act, and quietly set the Bishops at liberty. In a short

time the prohibition of Protestant preaching and literature practically ceased to be enforced. This daring exercise of his power by the great minister brought upon him the suspicion of the King and the hatred of the large body among the clergy to whom the Protestant tenets were obnoxious. From thenceforth they sided against him with the nobles, whose claims to privilege he had contemptuously disregarded, and whose ranks were sorely thinned by his summary suppression of opposition. His defiance of these combined forces was resolutely maintained to the last. A Bull of excommunication and deposition was promulgated by the Pope (Paul III.) against Henry, in 1538, as the penalty of his contumacious independence. Efforts were made to induce the Emperor to recognise this mandate as operative, the chief mover to that end being a zealous Catholic exile, Reginald Pole, younger son of Margaret, Countess of Salisbury, and brother of Lord Montacute. Cromwell's revenge for the blow thus dealt at him through his master was as decisive as it was cruel. Lord Montacute and Courtenay, Marquis of Exeter, both of whom were bitterly hostile to the existing *régime*, were arrested upon a treasonable charge, tried, and executed; the aged Countess of Salisbury being at the same time attainted and imprisoned. By a second act of severity he strove to terrify the leaders of the ecclesiastical party into submission. In 1539, three abbots, heads of the great monasteries of Reading, Glastonbury, and Colchester, were accused of denying the royal supremacy, and condemned to the scaffold.

By obtaining the King's formal sanction to these acts, Cromwell secured his domestic policy from disapproval, but he fatally erred in a step of foreign policy, taken in order to strengthen Henry's position by alliances with the Protestant party abroad. The death of the King's third wife, Jane Seymour, in childbirth, afforded an opportunity of cementing such an alliance by marriage. Cromwell negotiated for and obtained the hand of the Princess Anne of Cleves, who was a connexion of the Elector of Saxony, a prominent Lutheran. Her uncomeliness disgusted the king at their first meeting, but he was pledged to the contract beyond recall, and the marriage took place. Besides its personal distastefulness to Henry, it failed to effect the close political union which Cromwell anticipated. His ultimate aim was to band the combined forces of England, France, and the German princes against the Emperor, whose power was the great anchor of the Papacy. But from this conflict both France and the princes drew back, the one from religious scruples, the other from alarm at the risk which it involved. Henry thus found himself burdened with the sole responsibility of a great war, and vented his wrath upon Cromwell. This favourable opportunity of effecting the minister's ruin was eagerly seized by his many and powerful enemies. He was immediately arrested on a charge of treason, tried, and executed. The services which he rendered to the Reformation were so valuable that it is impossible to dissociate his career from its history, but the discredit of the tortuous courses by which he pursued his end must be laid to his charge alone.

The active part in the great Protestant revolt which England had taken under Cromwell's guidance, ceased with his death. The attempts which, at the instance of the Emperor, were made in 1541, by the Papal Legate Contarini, to bring about a reconciliation between the Lutheran party and the Church, and favourably entertained by the Reformers Bucer and Melancthon, as well as by some of the leading German princes, received the approval of Henry also, but his hostile relations with the Pope rendered it impossible for him to exert any mediating influence. The conferences held at Augsburg eventually proved abortive, owing to the mutual distrust of the negotiating parties as to the good faith with which their concessions were accepted and to the underhand dealings of the French king, Francis I., who, jealous of the increase of power which would accrue to the Emperor should the reconciliation be effected, professed his sympathy with the Lutheran princes and the Pope in turn, and discouraged each from giving way to the other. The breach was soon widened beyond hope of healing by the fanaticism of the dominant party in Rome, which revived the persecuting spirit of the twelfth century, and established the tribunal of the Inquisition. In Germany, Lutheranism spread apace, the Saxon princes uniting in a Protestant League, which was joined by the Elector of Brandenburg and the Elector-Palatine of the Rhine. Even the dominions of the Empire, which hitherto had remained staunch to Catholicism, became impregnated with "heresy." The desire of the Emperor to bring about a reform of the Church without schism by means of a General Council, which

was held at Trent in 1545, was disappointed by the result of its deliberations. The sentence which it promulgated, condemning the Lutheran tenets of the supreme authority of the Bible and of justification by faith as heretical, closed the door to the possibility of compromise. Charles, in pursuance of his pledge to the Pope, threatened the Protestant League with hostilities, while Henry, who was convinced by the decision of the Council that he had no choice but to make common cause with the Lutheran princes, offered them his aid. It was not accepted, owing to their distrust of his sincerity, but the steady drift of his policy and of the national sentiment in the direction of moderate reform continued unchanged. The attempts of the extreme Catholic faction to enforce the law against heresy were generally discountenanced. English versions of the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, and the Commandments, and manuals of private devotion were published by authority. By an Act passed in 1545, a considerable number of chantries, religious guilds, and hospitals, which had hitherto escaped suppression, were condemned to the fate of the monastic foundations. The close of Henry's reign was marked by the growing dominance of the Court party, which favoured the extension of religious reform, both in doctrine and ritual, and a closer alliance with the Continental Protestants. Headed by the Earl of Hertford, maternal uncle of the young Prince Edward, and supported by a large number of newly-created peers, who owed their rank and wealth to grants of the monastic estates, this party was already preparing for the share it was destined

to take in establishing the Church of England upon its existing basis.

While the Continental influence most potent upon the religious literature of this period was that of Germany, Italy exercised a new and important influence upon its secular literature, especially in the province of poetry. Sir Thomas Wyatt, after a distinguished career as ambassador in Spain and the Netherlands, devoted his leisure to the composition of sonnets and lyrics, either modelled upon, or freely translated from, Petrarch, Alamanni, and other Italian writers. Not only the style but the structure of their verse is carefully imitated in these poems, which include some composed in the *terza rima* of Dante. He also wrote several *balades* and *rondeaux*, after French models. In his Italian and French studies he was followed by Henry, Lord Surrey, who, however, allowed himself greater liberty of choice, departing at pleasure from the strict mechanism of the Petrarchian sonnet, and discarding the French usage that had clung to our rhymed verse since the days of Chaucer of accenting the final *e*, which would be mute, and the twin vowels *io*, which would be slurred, in ordinary speech. He was the first to adopt the recent Italian fashion of unrhymed metre (*versi sciolti*), which, under the name of blank verse, has proved so admirably fitted to the conditions of our language.

Minor contributions to the literature of this age which were derived from foreign sources include a translation of the "Chronicle of Froissart" by Lord Berners, "Annals of the Reigns of Henry VII. and Henry VIII." by Bernard André, a French historio-

grapher resident at the Court, and the Chronicle of Polydore Vergil, an Italian, who was made Archdeacon of Wells ; the two last works being in Latin. Besides these may be noticed a metrical translation by Alexander Barclay of a German satire, Brandt's "*Navis Stultifera*," under the title of the "*Ship of Fools*," and the "*Pastime of Pleasure*" by Stephen Hawes, an allegory upon the model of the French romances, first imitated by Gower and Chaucer.

The neo-classical architecture, which had long prevailed in Italy, was introduced here during the reign of Henry VIII. by Italian artists whom he invited to enter his service. The most distinguished of them were Geronimo (or Girolamo) da Treviso, a painter, architect, and engineer, and Giovanni di Padua, an architect whom he appointed to the office of "*Deviser of His Majesty's Buildings*." The "*Tudor*" modification of Gothic architecture then in vogue admitted of the addition of ornament which would have been incongruous with a severer style, and the change which the Italians effected is first apparent in the florid decoration of several important buildings erected a few years subsequently to their arrival, notably the palaces of Hampton Court and Nonsuch and Hengrave Hall in Suffolk. An attempt to carry the blending of Gothic and Classical features of design still further resulted in that picturesque but debased style known as Elizabethan.

The love of pictorial art, particularly of portraiture, now recognised among our national characteristics, first showed itself during this period. The eminent Dutch painter, Jan de Mabuse, is known to have

visited England during the reign of Henry VII., and to have painted portraits of the royal children, among other pictures. Besides Gerard Horebout, of Ghent, and several Flemish artists of less note, whom Henry VIII. invited here, he employed in his service two Italian painters, one of whom, Bartolomeo or Luca Penni, was apparently a pupil in the school of Raffaello. The most eminent, however, of the artists whom he encouraged was Hans Holbein, probably a native of Augsburg, to whose masterly brush we owe a series of portraits which have preserved the living semblance of his most illustrious contemporaries. Recommended by Erasmus to his friend, Sir Thomas More, Holbein in the year 1526 visited England, where he attracted the King's notice, and apartments in the palace were assigned to him, together with a yearly pension. His skill was so fully appreciated that he found constant employment, and resided here until his death in 1554.

The dignity and grace of Italian sculpture were for the first time made known to untravelled Englishmen by the arrival here in 1518 of the great Florentine sculptor, Pietro Torrigiano, who was employed to execute the splendid tomb of Henry VII. in Westminster Abbey. He remained here for two or three years, and other works of his hand are extant. Benedetto da Rovezzano, another sculptor of Florence, and Antonio Cavallari, an artist in gold, of Antwerp, were employed by Cardinal Wolsey in carving and gilding a magnificent sepulchral chapel at Windsor, but it was left incomplete at the time of his fall.

For the vast accession made to geographical know-

ledge during this period, the world was partially indebted to English patronage. In March, 1496, Henry VII. granted letters patent to John Cabot, a mariner of Italian extraction, and his three sons (of whom Sebastian became the most distinguished) to navigate the eastern, western, and northern seas, under the English flag, and to take possession of such new countries as they should discover in his name. Their first expedition started from Bristol, in May, 1497, and resulted in the discovery of a supposed island, to which they gave the name of Prima Vista, but now known as Labrador. Other voyages were undertaken by the Cabots, during one of which they reached the gulf of Mexico, but the King's parsimony prevented his taking advantage of their discoveries, and they soon relinquished his service. In 1517 Sebastian Cabot returned to England, and, in conjunction with Sir Thomas Perte, sailed on an expedition in search of a north-west passage to the East, in course of which he discovered Hudson's Bay, and gave to several places on its coast English names. He soon, however, transferred his services to the Spanish Government, and did not revisit England until the following reign. The glory of having sent forth the great expeditions of Columbus, Cortes, and Pizarro, which resulted in the exploration and conquest of America and the West Indies, was reaped by Spain, together with the sumless mineral, animal, and vegetable wealth which they produced. As yet England's share of the treasure thus discovered was limited to the gains of a few vessels from the cod-fishery of Newfoundland. The deep

interest which reports of the New World excited in the minds of cultivated Englishmen is apparent in the reference made to it by Sir Thomas More, in the opening pages of his "Utopia." The existence and character of this imaginary country he feigns to have learned from the account of a mariner who had been a comrade of Amerigo Vespucci. The narrative of that navigator's voyages was printed in 1507, and More refers to it as "now abroad in every man's hand." The example having once been set them, English mariners were eager to organise new expeditions, and some of the most memorable discoveries recorded in the annals of science were eventually due to their enterprise. These, however, belong to a later period, and the royal commissions which were granted by Henry VII. in 1500 and 1502 to an association of Bristol merchants and Portuguese mariners, "for the discovery and investing of unknown lands," do not appear to have produced any important results. The mercantile spirit was as yet more enterprising than the scientific, and several trading voyages were made by west-country mariners to Guinea and Brazil, from the year 1530 down to the end of the reign of Henry VIII.

CHAPTER IV.

Foreign influences upon political history during the sixteenth century (from the accession of Edward VI. to the death of Mary).

THE Reformation of religion in England continued during this period to be largely indebted for its development to the stimulus of foreign influences. Upon the death of Henry VIII. in January, 1547, the Council of Regency appointed by his will assumed the reins of power in the name of the young King Edward, and nominated his uncle, Lord Hertford, who was created Duke of Somerset, Protector of the realm. Supported by Cranmer as Archbishop of Canterbury, whose sympathies with the advanced Protestant party had, for some time past, been much warmer than he had felt it safe to avow, Somerset proceeded to exert all his influence in Parliament and Convocation to effect a thorough reform of the doctrine and ritual of the Church. The Bishops who had favoured the recent reaction to the old faith, were deprived of their sees, and their places filled by trusted reformers. One after another, the ordinances and prohibitions in the statute-book which marked the immemorial affiliation of the Anglican to the Roman Church, and the recent legislative attempts at compromise, which vainly disguised the definitive rupture of their communion, were swept

away. The Acts repealed included those passed against "Lollardry" and the enactment of the "Six Articles." By a royal proclamation all pictures and images in churches were ordered to be removed. The injunction of celibacy on the clergy was rescinded by statute. Convocation agreed to a resolution, which Parliament confirmed, that the administration of the Lord's Supper should henceforth be in both kinds to the laity and clergy alike. Auricular confession was no longer enjoined as incumbent, but might be dispensed with at the discretion of the penitent. The Latin ritual of the mass was superseded by an English communion service, and the missal and breviary by the Book of Common Prayer. The refusal of one of the newly-appointed Bishops, John Hooper (afterwards martyred in the Marian persecution), to be consecrated to the see of Gloucester in the canonical habit was a slight but significant indication of the extent to which Protestant sentiment, under the influence of Calvinistic teaching, was proceeding in the direction of what was soon to be known as "Puritanism."

The progress of reform in England coincided with a period of deep depression in the fortunes of the Protestant cause on the Continent. The League of the German princes who had embraced Lutheranism had been severely shaken in the winter of 1547 by the detachment of the Duke of Saxony and other members, and the Emperor found himself strong enough to put it "to the ban of the Empire." The princes appealed to England for aid, and a subsidy was sent to them by the Council, but it arrived too

late. In April of the same year they were defeated by the Imperial forces at Muhlberg; the Elector of Saxony being made a prisoner, and the Landgrave of Hesse surrendering himself. The chief Lutheran towns of Germany were besieged and subdued, and an era of persecution set in both there and in the Netherlands which drove large numbers of Protestants of all shades of opinion to take refuge in England. Here they were warmly welcomed by Cranmer and the Council, and some of the most distinguished refugees were invited to fill lectureships at the universities. Martin Bucer, an eminent Lutheran, was thus installed at Cambridge; and Peter Martyr, an Italian ex-monk, who had become a convert to the tenets of Zwingli and Calvin, was appointed to a chair at Oxford. Two bands of fugitive Walloons settled in Canterbury and the metropolis. They were permitted to meet for the celebration of divine service in their own tongue; and, in London, the church of the Austin Friars, in Broad Street, was assigned for their use, in common with the Huguenot refugees. Fresh immigrations of the latter kept on occurring from time to time, until their numbers became so large that a second church was required for their accommodation, and that of St. Anthony's Hospital, in Threadneedle Street, was appropriated for the purpose. A learned Pole, named John a'Lasco, nephew of the Archbishop of Posen, who had been driven to exile in England on account of his Protestant zeal, was appointed by the King superintendent of the refugee churches.

The suppression of the remaining chantries, guilds,

chapels, and hospitals, which was effected by an Act passed in the first year of Edward VI., completed the work of demolition commenced by Cromwell. The more difficult task of rebuilding the ecclesiastical edifice was, at the same time, zealously prosecuted. Cranmer, who took the foremost part in it, had now definitively adopted the theological system of Calvin, which is unmistakably impressed upon the formularies put forth under his direction. The issue of a new Catechism and a Book of Homilies was followed by the publication of a revised Prayer-book, and the compilation of forty-two "Articles of Religion," subsequently reduced to the existing number of thirty-nine. The "Confessions" of faith now in course of preparation by the German Protestants, in anticipation of a General Council of Christendom which it was the intention of the Emperor to assemble, probably suggested the form of these Articles. The clear expression of hostility to the Roman doctrine of the mass which these embodied was rendered more emphatic by the proclamation of an order for replacing the stone altars, which still remained in most churches, by tables of wood. Subscription to the Articles and the use of the new liturgy were enforced upon all the clergy and parish officers, default of attendance at public worship being punishable by imprisonment. A portion of the spoil of the dissolved monasteries and chantries was appropriated to the foundation and endowment of grammar-schools, of which eighteen date their origin from this period.

Unhappily, the rapidity with which these measures were passed occasioned a feeling of unsettlement in

the public mind, which deprived them of stability. The licence which so often accompanies the recovery of freedom showed itself in many lamentable excesses by fanatical Protestants, which were fatal to the preservation of order in the Reformed Church, and shocked the religious sensibilities of those still attached to the old faith. The abuse of their newly-acquired power by the landowners who had purchased the estates of the monasteries, more particularly in enclosing commons and open fields, provoked serious discontent throughout the country, and an unconcealed desire in many quarters for a return to the former *régime*. These causes of trouble were aggravated by the political misgovernment of Somerset, who had embarked the nation in a war with Scotland which was barren of any advantage beyond the winning of one inglorious victory, and entailed the serious consequence of a war with France and the loss of Boulogne, one of the last remnants of its French dominions left to England. A succession of popular revolts broke out in various counties, which were severely suppressed by the Earl of Warwick, to whom the executive government was entrusted by the Council, and who, upon the fall of the Protector, was appointed to his office, but without succeeding better in reconciling the nation to the permanence of the new order of things. An attempt on the part of the young King to force his half-sister, Mary, who was a rigid Catholic, to accept the reformed ritual, was met by her determined resistance and a menacing remonstrance on the part of her cousin, the Emperor. Danger of interference

from this quarter was, indeed, soon at an end, for, early in 1552, the Duke of Saxony, whose secession had broken up the League of the Lutheran princes, suddenly renewed his connexion with it, and turned upon his imperial ally with an overwhelming force. On the eve of presiding over a new Council in Trent, to which the Lutheran states were summoned to send delegates, Charles was obliged to escape for his life, and eventually to sign a treaty at Passau, whereby the German Protestants were established in the possession of religious liberty and political privileges as members of the Empire. Had the ministers who then governed England in the young King's name taken advantage of this crisis to pacify the nation with a wise and tolerant policy, the public sense of security at home and abroad might have averted the reaction which ensued. Intent, however, it would seem, upon securing power and wealth for themselves, rather than the triumph of the cause which they represented, the leading members of the Council persisted in a course of misrule and aggrandisement. The precarious state of Edward's health causing grave apprehensions of a speedy demise of the Crown, he was persuaded by his chief advisers, Lord Warwick (now Duke of Northumberland) and the Duke of Suffolk,—notwithstanding the remonstrances of Cranmer and of the bench of Judges,—to set aside his legitimate successor, Mary, in favour of his cousin, Lady Jane Grey, Suffolk's eldest daughter, who was married immediately to Northumberland's son, Lord Guildford Dudley.

Two months afterward the apparent success of this

intrigue was consummated by the King's death, and Jane was proclaimed Queen by the Council. The illegality of her title, however, was clearly recognised by the people, and a reaction set in, of which Mary and her adherents promptly took advantage. A rising in the eastern counties in support of her cause, which Northumberland marched to suppress, was followed by the adhesion of the troops levied in other counties, as well as of the fleet. The Duke, in his absence, was deserted by his colleagues in the Council, who proclaimed Mary Queen, and her accession to the throne was hailed by the acclamations of all but the Protestant party, who still constituted the minority of the nation.

One of the Queen's earliest public utterances assured her subjects that, although herself "stayed in matters of religion, she meant not to compel or strain men's consciences," or use other than spiritual agencies for their conversion. Her first measures were calculated to confirm the impression generally entertained that she desired to recur to the modicum of religious reform which had satisfied her father and received the sanction of Parliament during the closing years of his reign. His minister, Bishop Gardiner, who had been sent to the Tower under the Protectorate, was installed as her Chancellor, and other Bishops who had been deposed with him were restored to their sees. The most zealous of the Protestant Bishops who had dispossessed them were alone imprisoned, the rest being simply superseded. The laws passed during the last reign for the reform of the liturgy were repealed by Parliament, and the

service used in the last year of Henry VIII. was ordered to be restored. Married priests were forbidden to hold the cure of souls, and the foreign refugees ordered to quit the country. Northumberland paid the penalty of his treason on the scaffold. His innocent tools, Lady Jane Grey, her husband, and two other of the Duke's sons were tried on the same charge, together with Cranmer, who had incurred it by publicly avowing his determination not to abandon the Reformed faith ; but, on their pleading guilty, the recorded sentence of death was not carried into effect. This preliminary moderation was dictated to Mary by the counsels of the Emperor, who gauged more accurately than she herself did the inclinations of the national mind. Her fanatical attachment to the old faith and the purpose which she cherished of re-establishing it throughout her dominions were soon apparent. Against the advice of her Chancellor, she selected for her husband her cousin, Philip, King of Spain, the Emperor's eldest son, whose religious belief she knew to be as rigid as her own. Eagerly assenting to this proposal, the Emperor promised to settle the Netherlands upon the issue of the union. The remonstrances of Parliament against her intended marriage were without avail ; the only concession which she agreed to make being an undertaking that England should not be called upon to take part in any Continental war to which the exigencies of Imperial policy might hereafter give rise.

The Protestant party at once recognised the fatal significance of the marriage, and rose in rebellion, with the avowed object of rescuing Mary from mis-

chievous councillors, but the real intention of placing either Lady Jane Grey or the Princess Elizabeth upon the throne. Three simultaneous outbreaks were planned: one in the midland counties, headed by the Duke of Suffolk; another in the west, under Sir Peter Carew; and the third in Kent, under Sir Thomas Wyatt, son of the poet. The two former speedily collapsed; but the force at the head of which Wyatt marched upon the capital was largely recruited by deserters from the royal standard, and had not the citizens remained faithful to their allegiance, would have achieved success. An appeal by the Queen to the loyalty of the Corporation, coupled with the promise that she would submit the question of her marriage to the judgment of Parliament, secured the city gates against the rebels. Wyatt's force melted away; he was seized and sent to the Tower. The Queen signalled her triumph by sending to the scaffold not only the leaders of the rebellion and their adherents, but the victims whom she had hitherto spared, Lady Jane Grey, with her husband and father. Elizabeth was sent to the Tower on suspicion of treasonable designs, and narrowly escaped death. Many prominent members of the Protestant party sought refuge over sea. At a general election of Parliament, the Court succeeded in returning a majority of members, who pledged themselves to vote for the Spanish marriage, and with the consent of both Houses the nuptials were celebrated in July, 1554.

The characteristics which eventually rendered Philip exceptionally odious to the English nation did

not fully develop themselves during his residence in England as King-consort, and his influence over the Queen, although actuated by merely selfish interests, tended rather to moderate than to inflame her fanaticism. Both were of one mind in aiming at the re-establishment of the Catholic faith; and among the first steps which they took after their marriage was to reconcile England to the Papal see by obtaining the repeal of the Act of Supremacy. At the instance of the Emperor, the reigning Pope, Julius III., had consented to rest satisfied with this token of submission, without insisting upon the surrender by the landowners of the estates of the Church. Cardinal Pole was despatched as Legate, to accept the homage of Parliament in the name of the nation, and absolve it from its guilt upon these terms. By dint of extreme pressure upon the Commons and of lavish gifts to the Peers, the Houses were induced to agree to the conditions prescribed, and the obnoxious statutes were repealed. They further assented, by the special desire of the Queen, to re-enact the statute against Lollardry; but stood firm in refusing to pass the Acts submitted to them for excluding Elizabeth from the throne in the event of Mary's dying childless, or for postponing her succession until after the death of Philip. The morbid intolerance that dominated the Queen's mind, and which the counsels both of her husband and his father were unavailing to restrain, showed itself in her eagerness to put the statute against heresy into execution as soon as it was re-enacted. She was persuaded to defer her purpose for a time; but, pro-

voked by the defiant attitude of the extreme Protestant party, which vented its intemperate zeal in seditious publications and acts of ribald profanity, she commenced, in 1555, that course of ruthless persecution which has made her name a byword.

It would transcend the limits of this sketch to narrate the ghastly incidents of the martyrdom which the Reformed Church passed through. That persecution, instead of destroying the seeds of liberty, only scattered them more widely and made them take deeper root. The fervid heroism and constancy with which aged men like Latimer and Ridley and boys like William Brown underwent the terrible sufferings of the stake aroused the sympathies and changed the convictions of thousands who had hitherto sided with the Catholic party. Large bodies of Protestant fugitives who found shelter with their co-religionists in Germany, France, and Switzerland, attained during exile a firmer grasp of the principles of their faith than they had held at home. Even the violent and scurrilous manifestations of popular feeling against the mass, which had immediately provoked the persecution, were not restrained by terror, but broke forth in new forms. Undeterred by pity or fear, the Queen persisted in her course, but her attempt to subject the political constitution of the kingdom to Papal control was unexpectedly checked. Before the formal submission of Parliament to the Holy See, which Cardinal Pole had accepted in his capacity of Legate, could be carried to Rome, Julius III. died. Cardinal Caraffa, who succeeded him as Pope by the title of Paul IV., represented the fanatical Catholics,

who had been stimulated by the success of the Reformation into organising a "counter-reformation," of which the Inquisition and the Society of Jesus were the most powerful instruments. Animated by the spirit of Gregory IV., he repudiated, as insulting to the dignity of the Holy See, the compromise to which the Legate had agreed, and insisted that the English landowners should surrender the estates which they had wrested from the Church as the sole condition of his absolution. The Queen, in obedience to this fiat, essayed to bring the Houses to assent to the condition proposed, but in vain. It was with the utmost difficulty that she succeeded in carrying an Act for restoring to the Church the first-fruits which had been alienated by her father to the Crown. An attempt to enforce upon the lords the surrender of their estates would assuredly have precipitated a revolution. All that she could effect by way of satisfying the Papal demand was to refund one or two of the suppressed monastic bodies, and re-endow them with such of their former possessions as were still in the hands of the Crown.

The unconcealed hostility which the Queen's persecutions excited in the public mind culminated when Archbishop Cranmer was brought to the stake in March, 1556. The failure of moral courage which led him to recant his real convictions when the sentence of death was passed was atoned for by the manliness of his final renunciation, and the dramatic circumstances of his martyrdom left a deep impression upon the memory of his generation. From this time to the end of her reign the nation silently bu

effectually revolted from Mary's rule, and built its hopes upon the speedy succession of her sister. The popular hatred was fed by the violent denunciations of the Protestant exiles who now formed large bodies in different parts of the Continent. Books and pamphlets from the pens of several eminent divines, including Poinet, ex-Bishop of Winchester, and Bale, ex-Bishop of Ossory, were sent over to England and widely disseminated, which urged the duties of rebellion against the Government and of putting the Queen to death as a blood-stained tyrant. These diatribes were echoed from Scotland, where the Reformed faith had early taken firm root, and under the earnest tendance of John Knox was already developing a vigorous growth. One of his most powerful writings was entitled "The First Blast of the Trumpet against the Monstrous Regiment of Women," which held Mary up to public execration as a Jezebel for whom a day of vengeance was appointed in the counsels of the Eternal. The "Covenant" of the Protestant party against "Anti-Christ," "tyranny," and "idolatry," which was drawn up at his instance in 1557, was signed by several influential Scotch nobles. The bold stand which they made against the Queen-mother, Mary of Guise, who then governed the country as Regent during the minority of the young Queen (Mary Stuart), not only frustrated her attempts at persecution, but operated as a menace to the English Queen, whom it obliged to guard against the risk of invasion. The alienation of national sympathy which Mary's religious bigotry had engendered was rendered absolute by the disastrous

result of the political complications entailed by her Spanish marriage. Regardless of the positive pledge given to Parliament, as the condition of its assent to the union, that England should not be drawn into any Continental wars which Philip might be obliged to undertake, the Queen, at his pressing instance, submitted to her Council in 1557 a proposal to furnish him with military aid in the war which he was then waging with France. The King himself, who had been called away from England to superintend the vast territories which his father ceded to him in 1555, returned for the purpose of urging this demand in person. By dint of his influence and of the irritation occasioned by an incursion into Yorkshire of a band of refugees whom the French had sheltered, the scruples of Mary's advisers were overcome ; war was declared against France, and a strong military and naval force despatched to the aid of Philip. A temporary success of the English troops in Flanders was followed by a defeat of the fleet in the Orkneys, and the surrender of Calais and Guisnes, the last French possessions which England retained. This calamity, which the Queen, in common with her subjects, took sorely to heart, was partially retrieved by a naval victory off Gravelines, the glory of which was chiefly due to the English contingent ; but the nation was too much disheartened to contribute either men or money towards the further prosecution of the war.

The ardent hope which Mary cherished of having an heir to succeed to her throne was doomed to repeated disappointment, and when it became obvious

that she would die childless, the close captivity in which her sister Elizabeth had been kept since the collapse of Wyatt's rebellion was somewhat relaxed. For some time her life had been in danger, but the affection with which she was regarded by the people operated as a safeguard which the Queen did not dare to violate. For political reasons, moreover, Philip was interested in keeping her alive, as the succession after her death would fall to Mary Stuart, who was betrothed to the French Dauphin. While he remained in England, his influence was accordingly exerted to secure such favour for Elizabeth as the Queen could be induced to concede, and on embarking for the Continent he left written instructions to insure her protection.

During the last year of Mary's reign, Elizabeth was surrounded in her retirement at Hatfield by a group of distinguished men, who, holding aloof from a government with whose political and religious aims they had no sympathy, looked forward to the advent of a new *régime* with her accession. William Cecil, the most prominent figure in this circle, was already selected as the adviser upon whom she chiefly relied.

The influences to which the large bodies of Protestant exiles who had fled from Mary's persecution were subjected during their residence in different parts of the Continent contributed to mould the form which religious controversy in England subsequently assumed. Both in Switzerland and on the Rhine the exiles were brought into direct contact with the churches founded by Calvin and his leading adherents. The sympathies of the extreme school of

English Protestants had long been tending in their direction, and the consequence of this contact was to accentuate the difference between them and those who desired to retain in the Reformed Anglican Church as much of the doctrine, the ritual, and the ecclesiastical system of Rome as was consonant with Scriptural Christianity. The democratic theory of church-government which Calvin substituted for the Roman dogma of Catholic unity, the realistic plainness of his teaching on the subject of the sacrament, as distinguished from the half-mystical tenet of consubstantiation to which the Lutheran churches adhered, and the rigid simplicity of his mode of worship, which discarded the ceremonial that had become associated with superstition, appealed to the mind and conscience of this school as the ideal of Christian faith. Divergences of sentiment upon these questions separated one band of exiles from another, and were aggravated by intemperate zeal into bitter dissensions. At Frankfort, one body, headed by Whittingham, afterwards Dean of Durham, set up a church in close imitation of the Calvinistic pattern at Geneva, and invited other bodies which had settled at Zurich and Strassburg to become members of their congregation. These invitations were refused on the ground that an abandonment of "the order last taken in the Church of England" (*i.e.*, according to the reformed system of Edward VI.) was impossible. The Frankfort exiles, thus left to themselves, at the instance of Knox, who was elected as their minister, proceeded to the length of omitting the communion service altogether; but, having been joined by a fresh band of

English refugees, who preferred the Anglican mode of worship, the extreme Calvinists were in a minority, and, after the departure of Knox, who was banished from the town by the magistrates, on account of a violent attack which he had made upon the Emperor, the English ritual was resumed. The extreme party, headed by Whittingham, thereupon seceded, and founded new congregations at Basle and Geneva. The nickname which one of their opponents gave them of "the Church of the Purity" is conjectured to have originated "their later name of Puritans."¹

The term of Protestant exile was drawing to a close when these contentions occurred. Persisting to the end in her relentless persecution of heresy, but unable to fulfil her fervent desire of reconciling England to the Pope, who maintained his claim for the restitution of the Church lands; unloved by her husband, and childless; alienated from her subjects, who longed for her sister's succession; and robbed of "the chief jewel of her realm," Calais, for the recovery of which she vainly negotiated with France, Mary experienced during the last year of her reign the misery of disappointment and chagrin. Her health failed, and she was carried off by fever in November, 1558.

¹ Green's "History of the English People," vol. ii. p. 282.

CHAPTER V.

Foreign influences upon political history during the reign of Elizabeth.

THE enthusiasm with which the accession of Elizabeth was welcomed by the Protestants was somewhat checked by her cautious procedure in dealing with the subject of religion. Beyond releasing such persons as were imprisoned for heresy and putting an end to the horrors of the stake, she took no immediate steps to change the system which Mary had established. The mass continued to be celebrated and the Queen regularly attended at it, while a proclamation against unlicensed preaching restrained the revival of controversy. Her mental indifference to the questions at issue between the two great parties partly accounted for this caution, but it was mainly due to her political difficulties. The result of Mary's Spanish marriage had been to entangle the kingdom in a dangerous alliance with Spain and a disastrous war with France. The treasury was almost exhausted by the expenses of the campaign and the restitution of the Church lands. A claim to the English throne had been asserted by Mary Stuart, the young Queen of Scotland, on her recent marriage with the Dauphin of France, and the virtual union of those two countries under one rule exposed England to the double risk of invasion, which neither army nor fleet was

available to resist. For Elizabeth to have declared herself definitely upon the Protestant side would have been to alienate her Catholic subjects and incur the hostility of their foreign champions. These considerations dictated the friendly tone of her earliest relations with Philip, who on his part found it his interest to support her against France and Scotland. He even made her a proposal of marriage, but did not urge it when declined, and instructed his ambassadors to support her in the negotiations for the recovery of Calais. The same circumspection prompted the Queen to announce her accession to the Pope (Paul IV.), but the answer which he returned put an end to further overtures of conciliation. He rebuked her for disregarding the decree of his predecessor, which had affirmed her illegitimacy, and called upon her to submit her title to his decision. To comply would not only have impeached her mother's honour and her own, but have subjected the country to a yoke which it had repeatedly thrown off. No alternative was open to Elizabeth but an appeal to Parliament. It responded by declaring her legitimate and establishing her title, which involved a denial of the Papal supremacy and affirmed her own. A bill for repealing the Acts of Mary's Parliament and restoring the spiritual jurisdiction of the Crown was accordingly introduced, and though opposed by the Bishops unanimously and by a large body of the Commons, was eventually carried.

In March, 1559, the negotiations with France resulted in a treaty, signed at Cateau Cambresis, whereby Calais was to be retained in French

possession for eight years, and then restored to England, peace being meantime maintained. This relief from the immediate fear of invasion emboldened the Queen and her advisers to make a further concession to Protestant feeling. The English prayer-book of Edward VI., with certain modifications, was submitted to the Bishops for discussion, and on their refusal to sanction its use, an Act to enforce it upon the clergy passed both Houses. Beyond this point Elizabeth had no inclination to proceed. She dropped the title of "Head of the Church," and to the last was desirous to retain the crucifix in churches and to prohibit priests from wedlock. In putting the Act of Supremacy in force she showed reluctance to take extreme measures. The Bishops and other dignitaries who refused the oath were deprived and imprisoned, but few of the parochial clergy who disregarded the summons to take it were punished. For some years after her accession the same system of toleration was pursued. The result was a provisional state of "religious chaos," which slowly settled into order.

The position which Elizabeth, within a few years after her accession, definitely assumed as the ruler of a great Protestant state was not of her own seeking, but forced upon her by the pressure of foreign influences. The shadowy claim to the English throne preferred by Mary Stuart at the time of her marriage with the Dauphin, and reserved on their behalf in the treaty of Cateau Cambresis, suddenly acquired a menacing aspect by the arrival in Scotland of French troops, avowedly sent to aid the Queen-regent (Mary of Guise) against the Protestant lords who had signed

the "Covenant," but actually the advanced guard of an army of occupation. Although only suspected at the time, the truth eventually came to light that a few days before her marriage Mary Stuart had made over the kingdom of Scotland to France by a solemn compact. The Protestant lords, already driven into rebellion by the attempt of the Regent to proscribe their preachers of the Reformed faith, were incensed by this invasion into declaring open war, but, defeated in an assault upon the French entrenchments at Leith, they appealed to Elizabeth for help. Acting upon her own conviction of the exigencies of the situation, she responded in January, 1560, by sending a fleet into the Forth. By a subsequent treaty with the lords, she undertook to aid them in expelling the French, and despatched a force of 8,000 men to besiege Leith. The English ambassador in France was at the same time instructed to encourage the resistance which the Huguenots (who had adopted the Protestantism of Calvin) were maintaining, under the leadership of the Bourbon family, against the intolerance of Francis II. and his adviser, the Duke of Guise.

Having failed in an attack upon the town, the English commander was instructed to reduce it by famine. The siege had lasted some months when the Queen-regent died, and her authority passed into the hands of Francis and Mary. The exhausted condition of the town obliged the French envoys to make one treaty with the lords, whereby they undertook to withdraw their troops and entrust the government of Scotland to a national council, and a second treaty

with the English ambassador, which admitted the title of Elizabeth to the throne of England and Ireland. Francis and Mary, indeed, repudiated both treaties when presented for confirmation, and denounced as rebellious the proceedings of the Protestant Parliament at Edinburgh, which adopted the Genevan confession of faith as the religion of Scotland, abolished episcopal jurisdiction, and forbade the worship of the mass. But the domestic dangers of France were too serious to allow of any troops being spared to coerce the Scots, and Francis was forced to content himself with threats until his sudden death put an end to the possibility of executing them. The government of France, passing by this event into the hands of the Queen-mother Catherine de' Medici (as regent for her son, Charles IX.), whose policy, like that of Elizabeth, inclined to toleration, the risk of French interference in Scotland was for the time removed.

Encouraged by this security, Elizabeth ventured, in 1561, upon another act which emphasised her acceptance of Protestantism as the State religion. A new Pope was now on the throne (Pius IV.), who, of less exacting temper than his predecessors, made a last effort to heal the schism of the Church by re-summoning the Council of Trent, which he invited the Lutheran princes of Germany to attend, and despatched another Legate to Elizabeth with a similar invitation. Following the example of the German princes, who had already declined the proposal, Elizabeth refused to be represented at a Council in the freedom of whose decision she had no confidence.

Her refusal convinced the Pope that all hope of restoring England to the Roman Catholic fold must be abandoned.

The antagonism of the foreign forces thus shown in action—on the one hand, Rome's uncompromising assertion of spiritual supremacy, the rivalry of the Scottish Queen, and the interested friendship or the avowed hostility of the Spanish King; on the other hand, the claims of the Continental Protestants to sympathy and alliance,—combined, throughout the remainder of Elizabeth's reign, to exert an important influence upon the political and religious development of England.

The danger which Elizabeth discerned in the rivalry of Mary Stuart was intensified in August, 1561, by the return of the latter to Scotland. Under a girlish grace and winsome beauty which won all hearts, and an apparent absorption in frivolous pleasures, Mary concealed an astute statecraft and a cool courage unrestrained by moral scruples. As keenly alive to the difficulties of her own position as to those which surrounded her rival, she set herself to undo the alliance which Elizabeth had established between the Protestantism of England and Scotland, and shake the stability of her rule by fomenting disaffection among the English Catholics. Her first step was to conciliate her Protestant subjects by pretending to accept the religious changes which had been already effected (although still withholding legal confirmation of them); claiming only for herself and her French retinue the liberty of worshipping after the Catholic fashion. While thus deluding her sub-

jects, she was secretly assuring the Pope of her purpose to restore Catholicism both in Scotland and England, and negotiating with Philip for the hand of his son, Don Carlos, to bring about this result. Against Mary's shafts of fascination and cunning, Elizabeth could only oppose her old policy of patient compromise and watchful self-defence. She would neither assent to recognise Mary as a successor, which would have alienated the Protestant party, nor to set her claims aside by fixing upon another Protestant cousin, for fear of exciting the Catholics into rebellion. The same caution dictated her coquettish treatment of the suitors for her own hand, whose hopes of success she alternately flattered, without definitely pledging herself to either the Catholic Archduke of Austria or the Protestant Earl of Leicester. The danger of her position was increased by the disorganised condition of the French Huguenots, upon whose co-operation she had relied. Confident in their growing numbers and the tolerant policy of Catherine, they preferred demands which alarmed Philip, who apprehended that the success of Calvinism in France would lead to a revolt of the Netherlands, where the Inquisition was now in active operation. He accordingly stirred up the French Catholic party, headed by the Duke of Guise, against Catherine's policy. Her attempt to pacify the contending factions by an edict in 1562 was frustrated by their mutual violence. The massacre of a Protestant congregation at Vassy by the Duke's orders was followed by his entry into Paris with a force strong enough to seize both the Queen-regent and the young King. The

Huguenots, under Condé and Coligni, rose in arms, but their organisation was inferior to that of their opponents, who, reinforced by troops furnished by the Pope and Philip, put them to flight. In their extremity, the leaders applied for help to Elizabeth and the German princes, who both responded to the appeal. By a treaty made with the Huguenots in September, 1562, the Queen undertook to furnish 6,000 men and a subsidy of 100,000 crowns, in consideration of the surrender of Havre as a security for the restoration of Calais. Before the English troops could arrive, however, the Huguenot army was severely defeated at Dreux. This disaster was deeply felt in England, but it only nerved the Queen and her advisers to fresh efforts. The assassination of the Duke of Guise by a fanatic soon afterwards reversed the position of the contending parties. The Huguenots, by the aid of their English reinforcements, made themselves masters of Normandy, and Catherine was driven to agree to a treaty by which toleration was restored.

An act of aggression by the Pope in August, 1562, drove Elizabeth to abandon the policy of toleration she had hitherto observed. A brief was issued which forbade English Catholics to attend church or to use the Book of Common Prayer. Conformity to the established ritual had until now exempted them from any inquisition respecting their creed, but when, in obedience to this brief, they withdrew from church, it was thought necessary to fine them as "recusants." A still more stringent measure was passed by the Parliament which met in January, 1563. By the

Test Act all persons other than peers holding any lay or spiritual offices in the realm were required to take an oath of allegiance to the Queen, and abjure the temporal authority of the Papal see. The Act of Uniformity, which many of the parish clergy had evaded, was directed to be put in force, while Convocation agreed to adopt thirty-nine of the Articles of Faith formulated in the reign of Edward VI., which had remained in abeyance since the Queen's accession.

Scotland now became a fresh source of danger, in consequence of the strained relations between Mary Stuart and her subjects. Her duplicity had been detected by Knox, who, at the head of the extreme Calvinistic party, denounced her treacherous design of restoring the old faith, and promptly frustrated it by enforcing the penal statutes against the celebration of mass. Her inability to protect the victims of this prosecution estranged from her the English Catholics, upon whose support she counted to effect her purpose of winning Elizabeth's throne. Fearing that, should the succession become vacant, they would prefer the claim of her Catholic cousin, Henry, Lord Darnley (the grandson of Margaret Tudor, daughter of Henry VII., by a second marriage), she determined to put herself at the head of the party by accepting the hand of Darnley, which had already been offered to her. A dispensation for the marriage was obtained from the Pope, upon the assurance that the Queen and her husband would use their best endeavours to restore Scotland to the Catholic faith. Though strenuously opposed by her half-brother, Lord Murray, and other of the Protestant lords, as well as by Elizabeth, the

marriage was celebrated in July, 1565. Murray's attempt to arouse the Protestants to rebellion was foiled by the desertion of the leading members of the party, Lords Morton, Ruthven, and Lindsay, and he was driven to take refuge in England. Mary's triumph seemed to be complete, and the lofty tone in which she demanded Elizabeth's acknowledgment of her right to the succession bespoke her consciousness of power. The announcement of her pregnancy, which soon followed, gave this claim significance by the hopes which it excited in the English Catholics. By the advice of her Italian secretary, Rizzio, who was the agent of all her political intrigues, Mary took the first step towards the restoration of Catholicism by summoning a new Parliament, and recalling several Catholic nobles to Court. But the fulfilment of her designs was frustrated by a counter-intrigue of Darnley, who, jealous of Rizzio's influence over her, conspired with some of the Protestant lords for his assassination. On March 9, 1566, the eve of the assembling of Parliament, he was stabbed to death by the conspirators in the Queen's presence-chamber. Parliament was dissolved, and Murray, who was privy to the conspiracy, returned from exile. Concealing her purpose of revenge, Mary assumed a return of affection for Darnley, and persuaded him to break away from his allies. By his aid she escaped to Dunbar, where Lord Bothwell, a bold and unscrupulous soldier, met her with 8,000 men, at whose head she marched upon Edinburgh. There she proclaimed an offer of pardon to all but the murderers of Rizzio, affected to be reconciled to Murray, and to recur to her former

course of toleration. By this means she rallied round her some of the leading nobles who had stood aloof, and regained much of the popularity she had lost. The English Catholics, with whom she was in constant communication, now looked upon her succession to Elizabeth as assured. The birth of her son James in June, 1566, crowned their hopes, and deepened the gloom of the Protestant party.

But in 1567 her complicity in a tragedy of crime relieved England from the danger of a Catholic restoration. The aversion with which Mary regarded her husband ripened with the growth of a passion for Bothwell, who took advantage of it to gratify his ambition. Allying himself with the nobles whom Darnley had deserted, he obtained their recall from exile, and organised a conspiracy for his own elevation to power. An isolated house, to which Darnley during an attack of illness had been removed by the Queen's advice, was one night shattered by an explosion of gunpowder, and his dead body was found in the ruins. Bothwell, to whose agency the storage of the powder was traced, was charged with the murder, but no steps were taken to try him until the chief fortresses of the realm were put into his power, when, attended by a large force, he submitted to trial and obtained an acquittal. His fellow-conspirators were induced to consent to his marriage with the Queen, while the Protestant party were conciliated by her confirmation of the Parliamentary enactments which had established the Reformed faith. Her pretended capture by Bothwell with a troop of horse, who carried her to Dunbar Castle, whence, after five days' detention, she

was brought to Edinburgh, was followed by a public announcement of her intention to pardon his audacity in consideration of his great services, and exalt him to higher honour. After ridding himself of his wife by a collusive divorce suit, he was married to the Queen on the 15th of May. These scandalous proceedings excited general repulsion. Mary's Catholic supporters were indignant at her sanction of the Reformation, while Bothwell's co-religionists disavowed him as unworthy of their communion. Two of the Protestant lords, mustering a large force, marched into Edinburgh and excited a popular revolt. The troops whom Mary and Bothwell summoned to oppose them at Carberry Hill proved disaffected, and Bothwell, seeing that all was lost, fled into exile. The Queen was brought back to Edinburgh amid the execrations of her people, and committed to close imprisonment; eventually being persuaded to resign the crown in favour of her son, a child of fourteen months old, who was entrusted to the custody of Murray as Regent. A Parliament was then summoned to legalise these changes; the Acts passed in 1560 against the doctrine and practice of the Romish Church were re-enacted, and the Reformed faith once more established in Scotland.

Although saved by the fall of Mary from the most imminent of its dangers, the situation of England, now that Elizabeth's Protestant policy had been declared, was still extremely critical. A new Pope had ascended the throne in 1565 under the title of Pius V., whose previous training as an inquisitor qualified him to undertake the task of restoring

Christendom to the Church, without regard to the nature of the means employed. Intrigue and murder, whether wholesale massacre or secret assassination, were consecrated weapons in such hands. His direction of the strategy of the Catholic powers throughout Europe gave them unity of action. The importance of England as a firmly-constituted government and a great centre of trade singled her out as the object of attack. No sooner was she freed from aggression on her northern frontier than the danger was shifted to the east. The doctrines of Calvin had taken deep root in the Netherlands, which formed the richest portion of the Spanish dominions. The chartered privileges of the municipalities and trade guilds had developed a spirit of independence which was hateful to Philip's autocratic temper, and their wealth had long tempted his avarice. The spread of heresy in their midst afforded him the desired opportunity of subduing and plundering them. Taking advantage of an outbreak, in which several eminent nobles and citizens were implicated, he assembled in 1567 an army of 10,000 men, under the Duke of Alva, which marched into the Netherlands and stamped out every vestige of civil and religious liberty. Many leading statesmen were either beheaded or driven into exile; the cities were overawed by garrisons, and the tribunal of the Inquisition sent numbers of heretics to the stake. The indignation with which the Protestant party in England heard the tidings of Alva's cruelty increased Elizabeth's difficulties. To have interfered actively on behalf of the persecuted Dutch would have in-

volved a war which she was not prepared to wage, and have paralysed the trade of London, of which Flanders was the chief market. All that it seemed possible to do was to await the progress of events, and give welcome and shelter to the refugees who flocked by hundreds to the English shores.

The severity of the penal statutes passed by the Scottish Parliament against the Catholics roused them to another effort for their dethroned Queen. In May, 1568, an attempt planned for Mary's escape from Lochleven Castle proved successful, and she was joined by an army of 6,000 men, headed by several Catholic nobles. Murray quickly took the field with a stronger force, and at Langside inflicted upon her a crushing defeat. Escaping with a few faithful followers, but finding her cause lost in Scotland, Mary crossed the Solway and sought refuge in the dominions of her rival, upon whose monarchical sympathies she counted for aid to regain the throne. Her presence in England was the most embarrassing difficulty Elizabeth had yet encountered. To take up arms on her behalf, as Mary demanded, would have been to break faith with the whole Protestant party for the sake of benefiting an enemy. To allow her a free passage to France, which was Mary's alternative request, was to invite the French Catholics, headed by her relatives the Guises, to invade Scotland; while to detain her as a prisoner was to create a focus of rebellion in England itself. Elizabeth accordingly negotiated with Murray for her restoration; but as he stipulated that Mary should be first tried and acquitted of the murder of Darnley, and Mary on her

part refused to submit to trial, no terms of compromise could be settled. Meantime, her cause was gaining ground in England, and designs were already on foot for her marriage with the Duke of Norfolk, the premier peer of the realm, whose Protestantism was but nominal.

The long truce between the two great religious parties in the country was drawing to a close. Elizabeth's chief adviser, Cecil, who headed the Protestants, urged upon her the wisdom of allying herself with the Reformed Continental Churches, supporting the Dutch against Spain, and delivering up Mary to her accusers. The Catholic party, seconded by many waverers whose interests disposed them to peace, advocated a directly-opposite policy. For a time the Queen was content to steer between these extreme courses. Without declaring war with Spain, she helped the Dutch by putting restrictions upon Spanish trading vessels and capturing a convoy of treasure on its way to Alva, while she showed her sympathy with the Huguenots by sending arms and money to their leader, Condé. She was soon driven to adopt more resolute action by the aggression of Pius V. Early in 1569 a Bull was drawn up, though not at once put forth, which excommunicated her as a heretic, and absolved her subjects from allegiance under pain of anathema. An envoy from Rome announced this to the English Catholics, and Ridolfi, an Italian in London, was entrusted with authority and means to raise a rebellion in the north, and entangle the Duke of Norfolk into matrimonial negotiations with Mary. Weak, am-

bitious, and insincere, the Duke was a fitting tool for such an intrigue. Though pledged not to correspond with Mary without Elizabeth's permission, he soon disobeyed. The great northern nobles, headed by Percy, Earl of Northumberland, and Neville, Earl of Westmoreland, retained their attachment to the Catholic faith, and readily fell in with a design for its re-establishment. The defeat of the Huguenots and the death of their leader, Condé, at Jarnac, occurred at this crisis (March, 1569), and the French Catholics were emboldened to suggest that Philip should join them in invading England, and bring the northern rebellion to a victorious issue. Elizabeth was apprised of her peril in time, and struck the first blow. Norfolk was summoned to Court, and committed to the Tower as a prisoner ; other suspected peers were put under restraint, and Mary was transferred to the custody of a rigid Protestant, Lord Huntingdon. In November, 1569, the Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland responded to a summons to Court by a precipitate rising. Without raising the standard of Mary, they demanded that her succession should be recognised, the Catholic faith restored, and the Queen's Protestant ministers dismissed. At the head of a large army they entered Durham, and heard mass before the high altar of the cathedral, proclaiming throughout the north that their aim was to bring back "the old custom and usage." But the answer to their appeal was less unanimous than they expected. Many upon whose influence they had counted refused to join them, and others held back from an enterprise not supported

by Spanish aid. The army of the Earls broke up at the first signs of their irresolution, and with their own flight the rebellion quickly collapsed.

The severity with which the Queen punished those who had taken part in it testified to the alarm it had occasioned, and the Pope thereupon stimulated the English Catholics to a final effort by promulgating the hitherto deferred Bull of Deposition in March, 1570. Its effect was largely to increase the number of "recusants," but, except in the minds of a few fanatics, it failed to sunder the ties of allegiance and attachment which bound her Catholic subjects to Elizabeth's rule. Disappointed at the failure of its spiritual weapons, the Papal court resorted to baser instruments. The Regent Murray had been assassinated by a Catholic zealot in January, 1570, and among the plots submitted for the approval of the Pope by Ridolfi was one for the capture of Elizabeth and her Protestant ministers, to be followed by the elevation of Mary to the throne and her marriage to Norfolk. The Duke, who had been released from prison after the failure of the northern revolt, was soon involved in negotiations with Mary and Philip for the furtherance of this design. Many of the Catholic peers seconded his request for Spanish aid, and it was strongly urged by Ridolfi. But, though fully approving the scheme, Philip hesitated to despatch troops until assured of the success of a Catholic rising and the actual seizure of the Queen's person. The apprehension of her danger served to quicken the Protestant feeling of Parliament, which enacted penal statutes against the introduction of

Papal bulls and the denial of the Queen's title to the throne on the pretext of heresy; set aside all claims to the succession asserted during the Queen's life, and disabled any one from holding a public office who refused to subscribe the Articles of Faith. Norfolk's intrigues were finally checked by his arrest in 1571, followed by his trial, conviction, and execution. The Earl of Northumberland shared the same fate.

Though the worst of the danger was over, the excitement of the crisis did not quickly subside. The Calvinistic party, which still maintained communion with their foreign brethren, took occasion to agitate for reforms in the liturgy, and in 1571 a Bill was brought into Parliament which would have assimilated the Prayer-book to the Genevan model. But, against the advice of Cecil, Elizabeth refused to abandon her policy of compromise, and vetoed the Bill. There can be little doubt that her moderation in dealing with religious questions was in accord with the inclination of the bulk of her people. Although Protestants were yearly becoming more numerous, their conversion was being effected by the habit of conformity rather than by change of conviction, and would have been checked by violent attempts at innovation. The fanaticism of a small section, headed by Cartwright, Margaret Professor of Divinity at Cambridge, whose studies at Geneva had imbued him with a bigoted attachment to the Presbyterian system, repelled the alliance of many who would have welcomed a further instalment of reform.

Foreign influences once more operated to intensify the Protestant feeling of England, and to modify the policy of her ruler. In 1572, the prostrate condition to which the tyranny of Alva had temporarily reduced the Netherlands was suddenly changed by the capture of the town of Brill, and the repulse of the Spaniards by a small naval force sailing under the flag of the Prince of Orange, the leader of the Dutch Protestants. Fired by this example, the chief cities of Holland rose in a revolt which extended over half the country. The protracted civil war which thus opened, eventually terminated in the independence of the United Provinces; but the issue of their gallant struggle was long uncertain, and for some years William of Orange could count upon no foreign support. At the outset he had a prospect of obtaining it from France, whose young King, Charles IX., under the stimulus of hatred to Spain, showed a disposition to break away from his mother's guidance, and be ruled by the advice of the Huguenot leader, Coligni, who promised his aid in invading the Spanish Netherlands. But fear of losing her authority over France drove Catherine into a savage reversal of her habitual policy. Allying herself with the Guises, and persuading the King that Coligni was aiming at supreme power, she obtained his sanction to a plot for massacring all the Huguenots at a blow. It was carried into effect upon St. Bartholomew's Day (August 24), 1572, when nearly 100,000 members of the party, including Coligni and other leaders, are believed to have perished. The rejoicing with which the tragedy was celebrated by

Philip and by Gregory XIII. (who had succeeded Pius V. in the Papal chair) measured the height which religious animosity had now reached. Though sharing the horror which these tidings excited in England, and the sympathy called forth by the spirited revolt of the Dutch, Elizabeth was not disposed to interfere actively on the Protestant side. To her cool political temper the bigotry which insisted upon subordinating convictions to one rule of faith and the scrupulousness which refused to conform in the absence of conviction were alike inexplicable. She accordingly gave her support to the proposal of Requesens (who had succeeded Alva in the Spanish government of the Netherlands) that the revolted provinces should be restored to their liberties upon the understanding that they returned into the fold of the Church.

Although these terms were refused by the Dutch, Elizabeth's caution momentarily averted the outburst of Philip's anger against her. To the urgent appeals of the Pope that he would despatch an army to assist a Catholic rising in England, he responded by deprecating hasty action. But Gregory, whom his emissaries kept informed of the real state of affairs, knew that no time must be lost if the English people were ever to be restored to the Romish faith. Year by year the practice of conformity to the Reformed ritual was becoming fixed. The old parish priests, who had acquiesced in the new formularies without really approving them, were gradually superseded by Protestant clergy, whose belief in what they taught

influenced their younger hearers. The two Universities and the grammar-schools throughout the country were similarly transformed, and diffused the ideas and sentiments which distinguished the new faith from the old. Oxford especially, which had been a Romish stronghold at the outset of the Queen's reign, was now as strongly Calvinistic, and the sons of the Catholic families had deserted it for a college founded at Douay in 1568. Since the passing of the Act of Uniformity and the publication of the Bull of Deposition, this college had been largely recruited from England, and obtained so high a reputation as a religious "seminary" that the Pope determined to employ a number of the young priests educated there as agents to effect the reconversion of their country. Although the number of these missionaries was at first small, they exercised a sensible influence in impeding that reconciliation which Elizabeth still sought to effect, and she was provoked by the Pope's aggression into severe reprisals. Hitherto the Test Act had been mildly, but was now rigorously enforced, and Parliament (in which the Protestant element largely preponderated) further enacted that the landing upon English shores or the harbouring of a seminary priest should be an act of treason. To keep alive a feeling of disaffection to Elizabeth's rule and foment a Catholic revolt in favour of the imprisoned queen of Scots as her successor were the main objects of the emissaries. In connexion with their efforts, a formidable plot was organised in 1576, under the sanction of Rome, by Don John of Austria, a natural son of Charles V., whom Philip had re-

cently appointed Governor of the Netherlands. Ambitious of kingly rank, he aspired to pacify the Dutch by timely concessions, and, after employing the forces of Spain thus set free, to effect the conquest of England, and ascend the throne as the husband of Mary. His design was baffled by the formation of an alliance (known as the "Pacification of Ghent") between the Catholic and Protestant provinces of the Netherlands in a common effort to throw off the Spanish yoke, which forced him to renew the war. Her narrow escape from invasion, however, impelled Elizabeth to the active interference from which she had hitherto shrunk, and in 1577 she made a treaty with the Provinces and despatched troops and money to their aid.

With this step began the long and critical strife between England and Spain which ended in the destruction of the Armada. Philip, who, on his part, had equally hesitated to assume the hostile attitude against Elizabeth which the Pope urged upon him, was roused at last by this overt act. He was further incensed by the negotiations now proceeding for her marriage with the Duke of Anjou, youngest son of Catherine de' Medici, the consummation of which would have drawn England and France into close alliance. Attacks recently made by vessels sailing under the English flag upon Spanish galleons, laden with the wealth of his American possessions, furnished fresh cause of exasperation. He accordingly agreed to take part in an elaborate scheme for revolutionising England which was organised at Rome in 1579. Its design embraced a simultaneous rising of the English,

Scotch, and Irish Catholics, supported by an invasion of Spanish troops, but was only carried into effect in Ireland, where 2,000 Papal mercenaries landed in 1580 to reinforce a rebellion, headed by the Earl of Desmond. But the vigour of the Lord-Deputy (Grey of Wilton) crushed the movement before it could spread. The invaders, having retreated to a fortress, which they were compelled to surrender, were all put to death; and Desmond, who took to flight, was slain by a native chieftain.

No invasion of England was as yet attempted, but the seminary priests were augmented by a number of Jesuit emissaries, of whom Fathers Parsons and Campian were the most active. Assuming various disguises, they traversed the country, reviving the sinking hopes of the Catholics, and making several new converts. Magnified by rumour and panic, the extent of this success provoked Parliament to enact measures of great severity. By an Act of 1581, it was made unlawful to say mass in a private house; and all persons pretending to absolve the Queen's subjects from their allegiance, or converting them to the Romish faith, were, together with their dupes, declared guilty of high treason. The extreme penalties were not enacted, except in the case of seminary priests and Jesuits, who were hunted down without mercy, and often subjected to torture to extract confession. Father Parsons escaped by flight; but Campian was seized in the summer of 1581, tried for treason, and executed. Two hundred similar convictions are estimated to have occurred during the next twenty years, and the number of persons con-

signed to languish in pestilential prisons must have been considerably greater. Deplorable as was the outburst of religious hatred which this crisis called forth and the suffering it entailed, its effect upon the national character was far from wholly mischievous. The bitter hostility to Elizabeth's rule now avowed by the Papacy aroused not only among the extreme Protestants, but in that larger section of the people who had hitherto remained neutral, a sentiment of fervid patriotism, coupled with personal loyalty to the sovereign. On the other hand, the evidence of deep spiritual conviction displayed in the constancy of the Catholics when exposed to persecution and martyrdom vindicated the claims of a principle higher than either patriotism or loyalty. Though for the moment maintained by the Catholic alone, the supremacy of conscience was ere long to be the watchword of the Puritan also.

The blood of the English people was by this time fairly stirred for the war with Spain. The Queen's caution and coolness in the struggle were put to shame by the boldness and warmth of her subjects. The volunteers who flocked to the standard of the Prince of Orange formed a brigade 5,000 strong. English ports not only harboured Dutch privateers, but sent forth their own vessels under the same flag to attack Spanish merchantmen. The money subscribed by the London merchants to replenish the Prince's treasury far exceeded the dole which he obtained from Elizabeth. Large numbers of Flemish exiles had taken refuge in the Cinque Ports at the outset of Alva's persecution; and the ruin which the

war inflicted upon the trade of Antwerp and other cities drove hundreds of their citizens across the Channel. The hospitable welcome accorded to them was extended as heartily to the French Huguenots who fled from the persecution of the Guises. The tales which these exiles told of their sufferings under Catholic oppression, and of the fate of their brethren who had failed to escape, largely swelled the tide of Protestant feeling.

In point of numbers and wealth, Spain was enormously superior to its antagonist. With his native inheritance Philip united the two great lordships of Milan and Naples, the unrevolted provinces of the Netherlands, and the rich territories of the New World, discovered by Columbus, and conquered by Cortes and Pizarro. In 1580 he acquired, by conquest, the kingdom of Portugal and its fertile colonies. His soldiers were among the best in Europe, and his generals renowned for their strategic ability. His absolute power and reckless ambition were only qualified by an excessive cautiousness, which delayed him in deliberation and crippled him in action. The alertness of Elizabeth's intellect and temper, on the other hand, stood her in good stead; and what was wanting in the material resources of England was made up by the enthusiasm of her Parliament in maintaining the war and the daring of her soldiers and sailors. Before the actual outbreak of hostilities, the sea-faring class, especially in the western counties, had manifested their Protestant sympathies by carrying on an irregular warfare of their own. Obtaining letters of marque from the Huguenot

leaders in the first instance, the "sea-dogs," as they were called, helped the good cause, and filled their pockets, by attacking and plundering the vessels of Catholic France. When peace was temporarily restored in this quarter, the revolt of the Netherlands afforded them an opportunity of assisting the Dutch by pillaging the Spanish galleons. From privateering excursions within the "narrow seas," they proceeded to bolder exploits beyond. In 1577 the greatest of west-country seamen, Francis Drake, undertook an expedition into the Pacific ocean with a single ship, from which, after sailing round the world, he returned in 1580, with a booty of gold, silver, and gems, valued at half a million, gathered from the South American coasts, of which Spain claimed the monopoly. Philip's anger at this aggression was redoubled on learning that Elizabeth, in spite of a demand for Drake's surrender, had knighted him, and accepted his present of jewels.

The actual declaration of war which Philip threatened was delayed by the intervention of France in the Netherlands, where the Protestant remnant of the revolted provinces was still sustaining the contest, under the flag of William of Orange. The skilful diplomacy of the Duke of Parma, who had succeeded Don John in the Spanish command, had sundered the union effected by the Pacification of Ghent, and won back the bulk of the Catholic states to their former allegiance. In their despair the Provinces applied to France for aid, which Catherine agreed to give upon the understanding that her youngest son, the Duke of Anjou, should be

their king. He was still negotiating for the hand of Elizabeth, who showed more inclination to accept him than any foreign suitor. The triple union of France, England, and the Provinces against their common enemy, which would have resulted from the marriage, was a weighty argument in its favour, but failed to recommend it to the English people. The objections which existed to the Queen's alliance with a Catholic dynasty responsible for the massacre of St. Bartholomew's Day found a courtly but frank declaration in the "Remonstrance" of Sir Philip Sidney, and coarser expression in the pamphlet of a Puritan, named Stubbs. Affecting to be unmoved by these manifestations, Elizabeth still dallied with the Duke's suit; and the Provinces, regarding him in the light of a prosperous lover, formally tendered him their homage in 1582. But the instinct of the English people had justly divined his character, which he soon betrayed in a treacherous attempt to deprive his new subjects of their liberties. Foiled in this scheme, he returned, in 1583, to France, where, after resigning his pretensions to the hand of Elizabeth, he died in the following year.

The intention to invade England which Philip's slowly-deliberating mind at last matured was apparent in the mustering of a great fleet of war-ships in the Tagus, in 1584. While the Armada was in process of formation, the agents of Rome were busily engaged in preparing a Catholic insurrection in England to break out on its arrival. The penalties imposed for recusancy and the martyrdom of the seminary priests had so far enraged the Catholics

against the Government that the Jesuit emissaries believed them to be thoroughly disloyal, and assured Philip that, at his summons, they would certainly rise in arms. In Scotland, the young King, James VI., weakly lent himself to a plot devised, with the connivance of the Guises, for the release of Mary from prison and her restoration to the throne, either alone or in joint sovereignty with himself. His main object was to escape from the Protestant lords, under whose control he chafed ; but, having timely notice of the plot, they frustrated it by temporarily seizing his person. Other baits, however, were held out to him by the Guises and by Philip as soon as he regained his freedom, and Elizabeth had to reckon upon the prospect of his joining her enemies at the crisis of invasion. Abroad, the Protestant cause was daily losing ground. Parma's able generalship had already quelled the revolt of half the Netherlands, and was gradually regaining for Spain the leading towns of Brabant and Flanders. In 1584, the United Provinces suffered an irreparable loss in the death of their great leader, William of Orange, by the hand of an assassin in the hire of Philip ; and though they maintained the struggle with unabated courage, the chances of their achieving their independence seemed remote. In France, the Catholic party formed themselves into a League to prevent the accession to the throne of Henry of Navarre, the Protestant heir-apparent of Henry III., who had no issue ; and made a compact with Philip that each would aid the other in extirpating heresy from France and the Netherlands. The French King, who had hitherto upheld his mother's

policy of toleration, in alarm at the power of the League, pretended to favour its objects, and rescinded the ordinances under which the Huguenots had escaped persecution, so that on all sides they were beset with enemies.

In August, 1585, the surrender of Antwerp to Parma's forces after a long siege drove the United Provinces to make a more urgent appeal for help to Elizabeth. She received their delegates favourably, declining to accept the protectorate which they offered, but promising to send them 8,000 men, under the command of Lord Leicester, in consideration of their placing the towns of Flushing and Brill into her hands as a security for the expenses incurred. To these terms they agreed; and Leicester, accompanied by the flower of the English chivalry, entered on the campaign with a confidence which his conduct of it wholly failed to justify. His personal courage and other soldierlike qualities were marred by his incapacity as a general, and by the arrogance which he displayed in his relations with the Dutch Government. Owing partly to the dissensions thence resulting and partly to the parsimony shown by the Queen in the supply of munitions and stores, the English contingent achieved few feats of arms; the most memorable being the rashly-heroic onset of a band of 500 men against a force of six times their number, wherein the life of Sir Philip Sidney was recklessly wasted. An expedition to the Spanish Main, undertaken at the same time by Drake, with a fleet of twenty-five vessels, accomplished, on the other hand, a brilliant success. The cities of Carthagená and

St. Domingo were burned, in retaliation for the cruelties inflicted by the Inquisition upon Englishmen who had fallen into its hands; and a rich booty of treasure was carried off from the coasts of Florida and Cuba.

In 1586 Elizabeth won a diplomatic victory over Spain by means of a secret undertaking with the Scottish King that his succession to the English throne should be secured, in consideration of his aiding her against Philip by suppressing any Catholic outbreak in the north. But though thus partially protected, she was still in danger. The intrigues of the Jesuit emissaries in England had succeeded in forming plots to assassinate her. The discovery of these plots led to the infliction of fresh severities on the Catholics, and the formation of a Protestant association for the Queen's safety. Parliament responded loyally to the national feeling by passing an Act which excluded from the succession any one who incited to rebellion, or sought to injure the reigning sovereign. This was expressly aimed at Mary Stuart, whose protracted captivity had not abated her ambition or love of intrigue. Her approval had just been given to a conspiracy, headed by a young Catholic, named Babington, which compassed the Queen's death and her own elevation to the throne. The seizure of her correspondence having proved her complicity, a commission of peers was appointed to try her at Fotheringay Castle, and she was found guilty. Parliament petitioned Elizabeth to execute the sentence of death, and its prayer was supported by her Council and echoed by

the popular voice. For three months the Queen turned a deaf ear to these appeals, till they became too urgent to be resisted, and the warrant was signed. Mary was beheaded on February 8, 1587, retaining her self-possession, and affirming her unshaken attachment to the Catholic faith.

The immediate effect of this sentence was to aggravate the perils which surrounded Elizabeth, and her anger vented itself upon the ministers who had persuaded her against her will. Mary had made over her rights of succession to Philip as her nearest Catholic heir, and in him the hopes of her adherents now centred. The Pope (Sixtus V.), incensed at the loss of so valuable an instrument, urged the King no longer to delay the invasion of England. The Armada, so long preparing in the Tagus, was now nearly ready, and Parma was instructed to concentrate all the troops and transports that he could muster at Dunkirk to reinforce the invading army. But another postponement of the expedition, occasioned by the doubtful attitude of France, gave Drake a fresh opportunity of (in his own phrase) "singeing the Spanish King's beard." With a fleet of thirty barks he sailed in April, 1587, for the harbour of Cadiz, where he destroyed a number of galleys and store-ships, and, after pursuing the same ravage along the coast, venturing at last into the Tagus itself, where he attacked and plundered a richly-laden merchantman of great size. This audacious raid delayed the sailing of the Armada until the spring of 1588, when the success of the Duke of Guise in France having relieved Philip's fear of a French invasion of the

Netherlands, he gave orders that the expedition should set sail.

About half of the 132 vessels of which the Armada consisted were of vast bulk and the rest heavily armed. Provided with 2,500 cannon and ample stores, they were manned by 8,000 seamen and 22,000 soldiers, led by skilful officers under the nominal command of the duke of Medina Sidonia. Parma's force of 17,000 men was stationed at Dunkirk, where transports had been collected for their passage across the Channel as soon as the Armada was sighted. England, on her side, put forth all her strength. Beacons were fixed on every height to be fired as signals when the Armada came in view. At Tilbury a large camp was formed, where the army, under the command of Leicester, mustered 22,000 foot and 2,000 horse. Smaller forces of militia were stationed at different points along the western and eastern coasts. A special levy of 20,000 men was raised for the protection of the Queen's person, and London contributed its trainbands, numbering 10,000 strong. The fleet, which was augmented by many volunteers, consisted of eighty vessels, far inferior in size and tonnage to the Spanish ships, but more than a match for them in speed and lightness, and manned by 9,000 tried mariners under such captains as Drake, Hawkins, and Frobisher, with Lord Howard of Effingham for Admiral. But strongest of all the nation's defences was the resolute spirit which animated it as one man. Differences of social grades and religious opinion were ignored in the presence of a common danger. The assurances given to Philip that the English

Catholics would welcome and join his troops were falsified by the event. Side by side with the flagship of the Admiral, who himself belonged to a great Catholic family, were vessels contributed by other peers foremost in the Catholic ranks, while the gentry attested equal loyalty and patriotism by marching at the head of their tenantry.

The memorable story of Lord Howard's naval victory off Gravelines, his pursuit of the retreating Spaniards northwards, and the terrible storm which decided the fate of the Armada is too familiar to be here repeated. It will suffice to say that of the vessels which composed this vast armament only fifty succeeded in reaching Spain, with a fever-stricken remnant of 10,000 men.

Foremost of the advantages which the victorious issue of her great struggle with Spain brought to England was the triumphant assurance of her unshaken national unity. The vindication of the tolerant policy which the Queen had steadily pursued until driven to deviate from it by the aggressions of Rome was abundantly complete; and justified her protest to the soldiers at Tilbury that she had always, "under God, placed her chiefest strength and safeguard in the loyal hearts and goodwill of her subjects." Scarcely less important was the demonstration of England's title to rank as a great naval power, and the corresponding degradation of Spain from its boasted pre-eminence. Philip, indeed, bore the loss of the Armada with proud equanimity, and declared that he could readily despatch another as large; but from this time forth his prestige was impaired and the fortune

of his empire began to decline. The subsequent incidents of the war with Spain, which was protracted until the death of Philip in 1598, do not call for notice in these pages as—though full of interest in themselves—they exerted no fresh influence upon our historical development.

In France, the course of events rendered it imperative for Elizabeth to assist the Huguenot cause. After regaining his independence by the assassination of the Duke of Guise, Henry III. was himself assassinated in 1589, when Henry of Navarre became King of France. Opposed by the League and by Spain simultaneously, he maintained a gallant contest with little permanent success until 1593, when a national reaction in his favour set in, of which he took advantage to effect a reconciliation of parties by announcing his intention to embrace Catholicism, while securing full toleration to the faith which he abandoned. This politic tergiversation excited Elizabeth to a momentary outburst of anger, but she was appeased by Henry's proposal of an offensive and defensive alliance against Spain, in which the United Provinces eventually joined.

The death of Philip relieved England of her strongest and most implacable foe ; and the great war upon whose issue her freedom had depended was scarcely concluded when Elizabeth herself passed away. The opening of her reign found the bulk of Englishmen Catholics and the eventual establishment of the Reformed faith a remote probability. The close not only found Protestantism firmly established, but its extreme type of Puritanism in the ascendant.

Among the causes to which this remarkable change must be assigned, the pressure of foreign aggression stands foremost. No other stimulus could so effectually have developed the sterner virtues of our Teutonic race or welded the nation into so solid a union.

CHAPTER VI.

Miscellaneous foreign influences from the accession of Edward VI. to the death of Elizabeth.

THE influx of Dutch and French fugitives into England, which has been more than once referred to in the preceding chapters as contributing to swell the current of Protestant feeling and bring the Puritan party in the Church into fuller sympathy with Continental Calvinism, must be further regarded as a considerable accession of racial elements. The number of refugees from the Netherlands alone was estimated (by one of Philip's resident ambassadors here) at 10,000 in 1560, and after the persecution of Alva and the capture of Antwerp by Parma it must have immensely increased. "A third of the merchants and manufacturers of the ruined city are said to have found a refuge on the banks of the Thames."¹ Similar immigrations of French Huguenots occurred at short intervals during the reigns of Edward VI. and Elizabeth, their number often amounting to several hundreds at a time. They included men and women of all ranks and callings, a large proportion being skilled artisans. The landings usually took place upon the eastern coast—Rye, in Sussex, and Dover, Deal, and Sandwich, in Kent, being the ports

¹ Green's "History of the English People," vol. ii. p. 389.

most frequented. There some settled, while others passed further inland. In some of the Kentish towns, especially Canterbury and Sandwich, the foreign refugees formed recognised colonies. Many intermarried with English families, and eventually became absorbed into the native population. In not a few cases certain exiles can be identified as the founders of distinguished families, notably those of Grote, Van Sittart, Van Mildert, Bouverie, Pusey, Tyssen, Cosway, Houblon, and Hugessen. Vestiges of these immigrations are still traceable in some of our Cinque-port towns, such as the frequency of foreign names, the prevalence of Flemish or "crow-stepped" gables and Dutch-tiled fire-places in the old houses of Deal and Sandwich, and the local term of "polders," which is applied to the marshes of the Stour. The handicrafts which the refugees brought with them made a sensible addition to the limited stock of native industries. Cloth-making, silk-weaving, and baize-working were thus introduced, the manufacture of Delph pottery was naturalised, and a fresh stimulus given to horticulture. The first market-gardens formed in England are ascribed to the skill of Flemish settlers in the neighbourhood of Sandwich. A survival of their residence there is the cultivation of "canary-grass," which is said to be "almost peculiar" to that district. Large numbers of the Flemings settled in or near London, chiefly in the districts of Bermondsey, Southwark, Bow, and Wandsworth. From their congregation in one quarter of Bermondsey, it acquired the name of the "Borgney, or Petty Bergundy." Joiners' work, felt-making, tanning,

brewing, and dyeing were their principal crafts. The first dye-works in England were established at Bow by a Fleming named Kepler, and "Bow-dyed" cloth became highly esteemed. The manufacture of brass plates for kitchen vessels and of pendulum or Dutch clocks was carried on by some Flemings at Wandsworth. Some of the French settlers brought with them the arts of making arras and tapestry and of printing paper-hangings, while others were skilful workers in metal. A minority of the foreign refugees, who were men of more substance, became prosperous city merchants. Thirty-eight of them subscribed the sum of £5,000 to the voluntary loan raised by Elizabeth in 1588.

Similar settlements were made in different parts of England. Norwich at an earlier period had been greatly indebted to the immigration of Flemish weavers and cloth-makers, but, at the instance of certain of the local guilds, had repaid the boon by imposing restrictions upon their industry which drove them elsewhere. A gradual decay of prosperity was the consequence, which so seriously alarmed the citizens that in 1564 they petitioned the Duke of Norfolk to induce a number of the refugees to settle there. A band of three hundred Dutch and Walloon families responded to his invitation, and speedily restored the city to its pristine wealth. The manufacture of serges, bombazines, and similar stuffs, the crafts of striping and flowering silks and damasks, and of making beaver and felt hats, which they introduced, became the staple trades of Norwich. Colchester owed much of its prosperity to the manu-

facture of sayes and serges, introduced by Flemish workmen. Worcester, Evesham, Kidderminster, Glastonbury, and Stroud were similarly enriched by their settlement. The "coatings" for which Manchester, Bolton, and Halifax became famous were originally manufactured there by Flemings. The name of "walken-mill," which is often used for "fulling-mill" in old descriptions of property, is obviously derived from the Flemish *walke*. Lace-making was introduced by refugees from Valenciennes, Alençon, and Antwerp, who settled at Cranfield, in Bedfordshire, and Honiton and Colyton, in Devonshire, whence the manufacture gradually spread over a large area. The prevalence of Flemish and French names in the districts where it is carried on still testifies to its origin. A band of metal-workers from Liège established themselves near Newcastle-on-Tyne, and acquired a high reputation for the excellence of their steel swords and edge-tools. Glass-works were founded in the same neighbourhood by some of their fellow-countrymen, and the manufacture still flourishes. Other Flemish metal-workers settled at Sheffield under the patronage of Lord Shrewsbury, upon the understanding that they would instruct English apprentices in their art. To the fulfilment of this pledge the great improvement soon manifested in the trade of the town is attributable. The art of herring-curing, of which the Dutch had hitherto a monopoly, was introduced by a colony of Flemish refugees of the seafaring class at Yarmouth, in 1568, and completes the catalogue of industries which England owes to their enterprise.

Wherever the refugees settled in large numbers, churches were either assigned for their accommodation or founded by themselves, in which services were conducted by their own pastors. Those of Austin Friars and St. Anthony's Hospital in London, and the "Undercroft," or crypt, of Canterbury Cathedral, were the largest. The French church at Southampton, which still exists, was converted from a disused hospital, for the use of a band of exiles who had crossed from Dieppe, Valenciennes, and the Channel Islands in the reign of Edward VI. At Dover, Sandwich, Rye, Yarmouth, and Norwich they were allowed to assemble in the parish churches at stated hours, or special buildings were set apart for their worship.

The chief influences upon the national thought and sentiment derived from German and French sources have already been considered in connexion with the development of the Reformed faith. Side by side with these, and equally profound, although less extensive in their operation, the influences of the Renaissance, of which Italy was still the main fountain, were silently exerting their force. The magnetic attraction of high intellectual culture, to which the Italians were first sensitive, had already subdued the other Latin nations to its sway, and now began to fascinate the Teutonic races also. In literature, in the arts, in modes of thought, of taste, and speech, in morals, manners, and habits of life, the pervasive spirit of "humanism" made itself felt. Not excluding other influences, but subtly intermingling with them, it assumed different forms according to the characters

of those whom it affected. The chivalrous and all accomplished Sir Philip Sidney presents the ideal type of the cultivated Englishman of this period. At once statesman, soldier, courtier, poet, romancist, and critic, patron and friend of philosophers, scholars, and men of letters, whether native or foreign, he consecrated his culture to none but noble ends, and maintained in his life and death an exalted standard of patriotism, courage, courtesy, and self-sacrifice. In such a character as Sir Walter Raleigh's, the refinement of the scholar and the finesse of the courtier were blended with the adventurous daring of the "sea-dog" and the indifference to human life of the soldier of fortune. In natures of a lower type, the superficial varnish of Italian accomplishments, readily acquired by a year or two of travel, was too often accompanied by a deeper taint of moral corruption, contracted amidst the vicious society of the great cities. The wickedness of "an Italianate Englishman," indeed, became proverbial in the very country of which that hybrid was the product.

The same mixture of good and evil elements may be discerned in the influence of Italian culture upon Elizabethan literature. Early in the reign the study of the Italian classics was in vogue at Cambridge.¹ Castiglione's famous treatise on the ideal of statesmanship, "*Del Cortegiano*," was translated by Thomas Hobby in 1556-61, and Guicciardini's "*History of Italy*" by Geoffrey Fenton in 1579. Arthur Brooke, William Paynter, and George Turberville

¹ "Letter-book of Gabriel Harvey" (Camden Society's Publications, N.S., vol. 33, pp. 78-9).

put forth translations of Boccaccio, Bandello, and other Italian novelists, which were the precursors of a long series of such publications. Brooke's metrical versions of Bandello's "Romeus and Juliet" is noteworthy as having been the groundwork of Shakespeare's immortal tragedy. Some of Bandello's other tales are as impure as this is innocent, and his English translators showed little discrimination in their selection from them. The mischief for which they and similar writers were responsible was the theme of an eloquent protest by Roger Ascham, in his "Schoolmaster," a treatise on education published in 1570. His warnings were repeated and enforced by John Lyly, in the form of a moral tale which, borrowing its title of "Euphues" from a term employed by Ascham, appeared in 1579. The adoption in this work of an over-refined, fantastic mode of speech, abounding in conceits and verbal subtleties, which had come into fashion as an importation from Italy and Spain, gave it the popular name of euphuism. The richer treasures of Italian literature were drawn upon by Edmund Spenser, who at an early age translated some of the "Visions of Petrarch," and by George Gascoigne, whose translation of Ariosto's comedy, "Gli Suppositi," was represented at Gray's Inn in 1566. Spenser's first published poem, "The Shepherd's Calendar," which appeared in 1579, showed his indebtedness to French literature also, his eleventh and twelfth eclogues being versions of two by Clement Marot, the Huguenot poet; but in the "Faerie Queene," which he soon afterwards commenced, he reverted to Italian models. Sir Philip Sidney's

"Arcadia," which, though not published until 1590, was written in 1580-1, was suggested partly by Italian, partly by Spanish literature, belonging to the school of pastoral romance, of which the "Arcadia" of Sannazaro and the "Diana Enamorada" of Montemayor, both medleys of prose and verse, were prototypes. Among translations from the Italian may be mentioned one by G  orge Whetstone from the "Hecatommithi" of Giraldo Cinthio, a collection of tales whence Shakespeare drew the plot of "Measure for Measure." A series of novelettes which Robert Greene the dramatist put forth between 1584 and 1592, to judge from the prevalence of Italian names in them, may be referred to the same national source. The plot of his "Pandosto" is identical with that of Shakespeare's "Winter's Tale." An English translation of a German "History of Dr. Faustus" supplied Christopher Marlowe with the materials of his "Tragical History of Dr. Faustus," the most powerful drama of the pre-Shakespearian stage, which appeared in 1589.

In 1590 appeared the first three books of Spenser's "Faerie Queene." Though substantially original in its conception, and essentially English in its tone and diction, its obligations to the two great romantic poets of Italy, Ariosto and Tasso, cannot be overlooked. Many of its episodes are imitated or paraphrased from passages in the "Orlando" and "G  rusalemme." The nine-lined stanza which Spenser here initiated was a modification of the French form of *balade* called "Chant Royal," made by adding an Alexandrine of twelve syllables to its eight ten-

syllabled lines. His "Complaints," a volume of miscellaneous poems, published in the following year, included a revised version of his early translations from Petrarch, and paraphrases of some poems by Joachim du Bellay, a popular lyricist of the French Renaissance.

The influence of the Italian lyricists is apparent in the sonnets of Samuel Daniel, published in 1592 under the title of "Delia." In 1595 appeared his historical poem on "The Civile Warres between the Two Houses of Lancaster and Yorke," which, besides being composed in the *ottava rima* of Boccaccio, contains several paraphrases from the Italian poets. In the last decade of Elizabeth's reign complete translations appeared of Ariosto and Tasso. The "Orlando Furioso" was translated by Sir John Harrington in 1591; the "Gerusalemme" by Richard Carew in 1594, and by Edward Fairfax in 1600. The last-named translation has survived to our own day for the sake of its graceful and harmonious versification. The Huguenot poet, Du Bartas, who, though now forgotten, then enjoyed the highest celebrity, found three or four English translators, of whom the "silver-tongued" Joshua Sylvester is the best known. Another French writer of enduring fame, the great essayist, Montaigne, was first "done into English" in the last year of Elizabeth's reign by John Florio, a teacher of languages at Oxford, who had already published translations of Italian proverbs. His version of Montaigne is memorable as one of the few books known to have belonged to Shakespeare, whose familiarity with it is shown by a passage in

"The Tempest" (act ii., scene 1), obviously based upon its language.

The extent to which foreign influences directly and indirectly affected the marvellous development of dramatic literature which marked this period can only be briefly indicated. The Elizabethan drama may be regarded as an Italian revival of the classical drama, modified by the conditions of its transplantation to a different climate. This character is clearly stamped upon the tragedies which first took possession of the English stage. That of "Gorboduc," the production of Thomas, Lord Buckhurst, and Thomas Norton, which was acted before the Queen in 1562, was written in the blank verse introduced from Italy by Lord Surrey, and although the plot was founded upon an early British legend, the language was modelled upon the style of Seneca, a favourite author of the Renaissance. The subjects of Edward's "Damon and Pythias" (1565) and Whetstone's "Promos and Cassandra" (1578) sufficiently speak for themselves. John Lyly (the author of "Euphues"), who took the lead in catering for the dramatic taste of the Court, chose classical themes for most of his plays and pageants. His successor, Peele, commenced by following in the same path, though he subsequently deserted it to become the precursor of Shakespeare as an historical playwright. As the taste for theatrical entertainments spread from the Court to the people, the dramatists necessarily took a wider range in their choice of subjects. Although classical themes were by no means abandoned, the Renaissance literature of Italy and

Spain provided a larger stock of attractive plots that could be turned to account. Thomas Kyd's "Jeronimo," or "Spanish Tragedy," and Marlowe's "Jew of Malta" were among the first successful attempts to dramatise the violent and powerful situations which some of these stories furnished. But it was reserved for the greatest representative of English genius to attest at once the abundant resources of this literature for the service of the stage and his own inexhaustible power of creating new worlds, peopled with living beings, out of the bare outlines of character and motive which he borrowed and adapted.

"It cannot be shown," says a critic of authority, "that in any one instance Shakespeare took the trouble to invent a plot for himself."¹ Passing by the series of historical plays, for the materials of which he was indebted either to Plutarch in Sir Thomas North's translation of Amyot's version, or to the chronicles of Hollinshed and Hall, his fictitious creations amount to twenty, of which thirteen can certainly be traced (though for the most part by intermediate channels) to foreign sources. The Italian originals of "Romeo and Juliet," "Measure for Measure," and "The Winter's Tale" have already been indicated. The "Hecatommithi" of Giraldo Cinthio furnished the plot of "Othello" also. Bandello's "Novelle" supplied that of "Twelfth Night" and (in conjunction with Ariosto's "Orlando") that of "Much Ado About Nothing." The "Taming

¹ Shaw's "History of English Literature," I. 149.

of the *Shrew*” was adapted from an earlier piece founded upon Gascoigne’s translation of Ariosto’s “*Gli Suppositi*.” A story in Boccaccio’s “*Decamerone*” was the original of “*All’s Well that Ends Well*.” The “*Il Pecarone*” of Giovanni Fiorentino, among other sources, gave birth to “*The Merchant of Venice*” and “*The Merry Wives of Windsor*.” A comedy of Plautus suggested the motive of “*A Comedy of Errors*.” “*The Two Gentlemen of Verona*” appears to be based upon a translation of Montemayor’s “*La Diana*.” The groundwork of the tragedy of “*Hamlet*,” which may perhaps be regarded as a combination of history and fiction, was derived from the *Chronicle of Saxo-Grammaticus* and a translation from the French of Belleforest.

Besides the direct obligation to foreign sources thus manifest in the structure of Shakespeare’s greatest works, it is impossible to overlook many indirect evidences of his sensibility to the foreign influences which were agitating the England of his time. No one can doubt the obvious contemporary significance of such language as he puts into the mouth of King John addressing the Papal Legate, Pandulph :—

From the mouth of England
Add thus much more,—That no Italian priest
Shall tithe or toll in our dominions ;
But as we under Heaven are Supreme head,
So tell the Pope ; all reverence set apart,
To him, and his usurp’d authority.

Equally unmistakable is the political intention

of the stirring words with which the play concludes :—

This England never did (nor never shall)
Lie at the proud foot of a conqueror,
But when it first did help to wound itself
Come the three corners of the world in arms,
And we shall shock them : nought shall make us rue
If England to itself do rest but true.

His emphatic allusions to England's insular security and the fervour of the patriotic apostrophes with which he credits the great Englishmen of past ages far transcend the limits of mere dramatic appropriateness, and would lose half their force if their oblique reference to the events of his own day were ignored. "The Comedy of Errors," one of his earliest works, contains pointed allusions in a satirical vein to the salient characteristics of England's foreign neighbours,—to France, distracted with civil war, "her forehead armed and reverted, making war against her hair"; and to "the hot breath of Spain," unto which the gems of the Indies were "declining their rich aspect" (act iii., scene 2). His estimate of the prevalent affectation of foreign euphuism is signified in the ridiculous parts assigned to Armado and Holofernes in "Love's Labour's Lost," another work of his youth. The incisive portraiture of national types which his maturer works exhibit only occasionally possess this special significance, but it would be difficult to mistake the reflection upon Spanish pride conveyed in the Prince of Arragon's humiliation ("Merchant of Venice," act ii., scene 9), or the

censure of Italian perfidy and craft in the characters of Iago and Iachimo.

Spenser is the only other great Elizabethan in whose writings similar traces of susceptibility to the action of foreign influences are sufficiently marked to deserve notice. His strong Protestant convictions and Puritan sympathies were avowed in his "Shepherd's Calendar," an early work, in which he applauded the course of Archbishop Grindal (under the anagram of Algrind), who had incurred Elizabeth's displeasure for encouraging "prophesyings" or clerical meetings for Biblical discussion. The same bias is apparent in the references to the religious controversies of his time which abound in "The Faerie Queene." The Red Cross knight, who in the first book personifies the religion of England, having been temporarily parted from his companion, Una, or Truth, by the wiles of the Evil Spirit, Archimago, is deceived by the semblance of Duessa, a "woman clothed in scarlet," who assumes the aspect of Fidessa, or the True Faith. In the fifth book (cantos nine and ten), Spenser illustrated his meaning more pointedly by making Duessa a type of Mary Stuart, the representative and instrument of the Church of Rome, and urging the political necessity that existed for her execution. The allusion was so readily understood, that on the publication of this part of the work in 1596, James VI. of Scotland endeavoured to subject the poet to prosecution. "Many references," of the same kind, "in their own time not in the least obscure, to affairs of England, Ireland, France, Spain, Belgium,"¹

¹ Morley's "First Sketch of English Literature," p. 456.

may be read beneath the surface of Spenser's allegory.

In the theological literature of this period the presence of foreign influences is distinctly traceable. The Calvinistic sympathies of Cranmer and his fellow Reformers found expression in the Book of Common Prayer, which they issued in 1549. A revised edition appeared in 1552. A translation by Nicholas Udall of the "Paraphrase" of the New Testament composed by Erasmus was published in two volumes in 1548 and 1549. Miles Coverdale, who wrote a preface to the second volume, was the translator from the German of a selection of hymns, which he entitled "Spiritual Songs." The "Geneva Bible," a translation commenced by Whittingham and other Protestant exiles at Geneva during the reign of Mary, was completed and published in 1560, with a dedication to Elizabeth. It first introduced the division of chapters into verses which has ever since been adopted. Whittingham, who became Dean of Durham, was the brother-in-law of Calvin and a fervent disciple of his teaching. The Geneva Bible was the text-book of the Puritan party, as distinguished from the "Bishops' Bible," which was a translation entrusted by Archbishop Parker to fifteen divines (of whom many were bishops) in 1564, and published as the authorised version of the Church of England in 1568. It did not, however, supersede the Geneva version, which counted for no less than sixty out of eighty-five editions of the Bible that were printed in the reign of Elizabeth. The "Institutes" of Calvin were translated by Thomas

Norton in 1561, and passed through five editions. Norton was one of the contributors to the version of the Psalms put forth by "Sternhold, Hopkins and others" in 1562, and appended to the Book of Common Prayer.

In 1587 a translation of a treatise upon the truth of Christianity by Philip Du Plessis Mornay, one of the leaders of the Huguenot party, and their envoy at the Court of Elizabeth, was published by Arthur Golding. Barnaby Googe's translations of an Italian polemic against the Papal see, entitled "The Zodiac of Life," and of a Latin work by Kirchmeyer, on the same subject, called "The Popish Kingdom," deserve passing mention.

The arts which flourished in England during this period owed their chief lustre to the stimulus of foreign genius. Sir Antonio Moro, a native of Utrecht, who had studied in Italy and Spain, after Holbein, the most masterly portrait-painter of his time, visited England during the reign of Mary, whose picture he was commissioned to paint for Philip II. of Spain before their marriage. He remained here during her reign, and painted several portraits of her and of the leading personages about the court, but withdrew to the Netherlands at her death. Lucas de Heere, a Flemish painter of reputation, who also devoted himself to portraiture, was the first to attract attention at the Court of Elizabeth. Several of his works, including more than one portrait of the Queen, are preserved. Federigo Zuccherò, an artist of the Roman school, scarcely less distinguished than his elder brother, Taddeo, arrived

in England in 1574. Portraits by his hand are extant of Elizabeth, of Mary, Queen of Scots, Sir Francis Walsingham, and other celebrities of the period. Henry Cornelius Vroom, a native of Haarlem, was employed to design a set of representations in tapestry of the defeat of the Spanish Armada, commissioned by the Lord High Admiral. The tapestry, which subsequently decorated the House of Lords, was unfortunately destroyed in the fire of 1834. Marc Gheeraedts, or Gerhard, a Flemish portrait-painter of merit, came on a visit to England about the year 1580, and found such abundant occupation that he remained here until his death in 1635. The beginning of a native school of pictorial art, which dates from this reign, may be traced to the study of the great foreign masters whose visits have been chronicled. Nicholas Hilliard, a jeweller and miniature-painter in high esteem with his contemporaries (born in 1547, died 1619), was an avowed imitator of Holbein. Isaac Oliver (died 1617), whose beautiful miniatures are probably more highly valued now than they were in his own time, was a pupil of Hilliard, and also studied under Zuccherò.

In the arts of illuminating on vellum, engraving on precious stones and cameo-cutting, foreign artificers were chiefly employed. Petruccio Ubaldini, an Italian, was in great repute at the Court of Elizabeth for his illumination of books and rolls. A French artist, named Le Moyne, or Morgues, resident in England in the same reign, illustrated a work on Florida at the charge of Sir Walter Raleigh. Valerio Belli, or Vincentino, an Italian, was an eminent

engraver of gems and cameo-cutter, many of whose works were extant in the last century.¹

The new impulse given to architectural design by the arrival of Geronimo da Treviso and Giovanni di Padua, in the reign of Henry VIII., continued to modify the style of all the important buildings erected during the three following reigns. The first strictly Italian building in England is believed to have been Somerset House, which Giovanni di Padua was commissioned to erect for the Protector, Duke of Somerset. He is also credited with the design of Longleat, in Wiltshire, which was commenced in 1567. In this and other great houses of the same period, which are typical specimens of Elizabethan architecture, the features of Tudor-Gothic are skilfully blended with those of the classical Renaissance. Of native artists who adopted this method of design, Robert and Huntingdon Smithson and John Thorpe have been recorded as the most eminent. A more rigid conception of the classical revival was entertained by an architect of Cleves, named Theodore Havens, who was employed early in the reign of Elizabeth by Dr. Caius to execute the additions that he made to the college in Cambridge which bears his name. The internal decoration of the chief buildings erected attests to the prevalence of Renaissance ideas; cupids and other mythological figures being commonly introduced by way of ornament, and Latin mottoes inscribed upon the walls.

In music alone, of all the arts, native genius appears

¹ Walpole's "Anecdotes of Painting in England," &c., vol. i. pp. 276-8.

to have relied most upon its own unassisted strength, and to have taken the first place in public estimation. The works, however, of one of the great madrigalists of the Elizabethan period, Thomas Morley, "certainly betray a familiar acquaintance with the Italian and Flemish masters," and it is known that his contemporary, John Dowland, who was "the rarest musician" of his age, "travelled much in France, Italy, and Germany."¹

The predominance of Italian models of taste in cultivated English circles during this period was visible in the gardens which surrounded the mansions built by the Elizabethan nobles and gentry. They were usually laid out in terraces, with flights of steps at each end, and in alleys and walks lined with yews fantastically lopped; statues, vases, fountains, and grottoes being interspersed. Bacon's essays on "Building" and "Gardens," though probably written after the accession of James I., may be noticed here as affording clear indications of the accepted standard of fashion in such matters. The number of indigenous garden-flowers and fruits was considerably increased during this period by importations from the Netherlands, Italy, and Greece. The Flemish refugees who settled in the eastern counties are credited with having brought over the gillyflower and carnation. New varieties of hops and cherries were also brought into Kent from the Netherlands. Italy furnished us with choicer grafts of plums, and Zante with currants. The intro-

¹ "Pictorial History of England," vol. iii. p. 563.

duction of Dutch clover made a valuable addition to our agricultural crops.

Fresh impulse was given to mining by the arrival of a number of German and Dutch experts (of whom Cornelius de Vos, Daniel Hechstetter, and Christopher Schutz were the leaders) during the reign of Elizabeth, from whom they obtained letters patent to dig for alum, calamine, and copperas, as well as the precious metals, quicksilver and copper. Some of these experts were employed as assayers in the Royal Mint. The first manufacture of cannon in England is attributed by a Sussex tradition to Ralph Hogge, resident in 1543 at Buxted, who is said to have been assisted by French and Flemish gunsmiths. According to other authorities, iron ordnance was first manufactured here by a Frenchman in the reign of Edward VI. Gunpowder is said to have been imported by the Hanse merchants until early in the reign of Elizabeth, when it began to be made in England. The exclusive privileges of that great mercantile corporation secured to them by a succession of royal charters, to the serious detriment of native commerce, received a severe shock during the reign of Edward VI. Upon an information brought against them by an English Company of Merchant Adventurers (which had been incorporated by Henry VII., and increased in wealth and importance) that they had violated the conditions of their monopoly, the Council to whom the question was referred decided against them, and adjudged their franchises to be forfeited. In the following reign the Hanse merchants obtained a temporary renewal of their

privileges, but gradually declined in power, and in 1597 were suppressed in retaliation for a decree made by the German Emperor, Rudolph, which closed the factories of the Merchant Adventurers in his dominions. The vigorous growth of English commercial enterprise dates from the collapse of this foreign guild.

Memorials of our former dependence upon Continental merchants are extant in the commercial terms which they introduced into the language; *e.g.*, “sterling” (from Easterling), “bank,” “bankrupt,” “exchange,” “argosy” (from Ragusa); and in the names of trades and commodities, such as “milliner” (from Milan), “damask,” “hollands,” &c.

The thirst for geographical discovery aroused by the successful expeditions of Sebastian Cabot in the reign of Henry VIII. was revived, after a temporary abatement, in the following reign, when he re-visited England, and was warmly welcomed by the young King. In 1553 he assisted to form a company of merchants to prosecute the discovery of a northward passage to the East, and was chosen as their governor. The first expedition of three vessels was commanded by Sir Hugh Willoughby, who received instructions from Cabot, and carried letters of recommendation addressed by the King to all the foreign potentates whose dominions might be reached. Willoughby, with two ships, sailed as far as Russian Lapland, where he put into harbour for the winter, but, owing to the rigour of the climate, he and all his companions perished. The third ship, under the command of Richard Chancellor, reached the White Sea. Landing

at Archangel, he proceeded to Moscow, and had an interview with the Czar, who agreed to grant exclusive trading privileges to the association whom he represented. The English-Russian Company which was thus founded became a prosperous mercantile body. Cabot continued to direct its undertakings until 1557. The commercial relations which Chancellor had established between England and Russia led the way to political relations. An ambassador from the Czar to Philip and Mary was despatched in one of the Company's vessels on its voyage back to England in 1556. In the following year he returned to Russia, accompanied by Anthony Jenkinson, an agent of the English-Russian merchants, who then proceeded down the Volga and by way of Astracan and the Caspian Sea to Persia, with the object of opening out a traffic with that country also. He penetrated as far as Bokhara, which was the great market of the Persian, Indian, and Chinese silk-merchants, returning to England in 1560. He subsequently undertook other journeys to the East, and in 1566 obtained trading privileges from the Sophi of Persia. In 1571 he was appointed by Elizabeth her ambassador to the Czar, uniting this diplomatic function with that of agent to the Company.

The traffic in ivory and gold-dust with the natives of the western coast of Africa, commenced in the reign of Henry VIII., was now extremely lucrative, especially to the merchants of Southampton. In 1562 one of the west-country seamen, John Hawkins, returned with a cargo of negroes, and the fatal example thus

set was too eagerly followed when the establishment of English colonies in the New World opened out a suitable field for the employment of slave-labour.

A series of expeditions, originally prompted by scientific curiosity, but soon diverted to promote the interests of commerce, was commenced in 1576, when Martin Frobisher set forth with two barks of 25 tons each and a pinnacle of 10 tons to discover a north-west passage to "Cathay." Sailing from Deptford, he proceeded to the Shetland Isles, whence he voyaged westward and sighted the coast of Greenland, but was unable to land. Entering the strait (to which his name has since been given) that leads to Hudson's Bay, he effected a landing on the adjoining coast, and asserted possession of it in the Queen's name, entitling the territory *Meta Incognita*. He returned to England in the same year, bringing with him a piece of stone found upon the newly-discovered land, which was submitted to two refiners, one of whom professed to find in it "a grain of gold" and the other "a little silver." Under the patronage of distinguished subscribers, headed by the Queen, as joint "adventurers," Frobisher set forth upon two more expeditions, from which he returned with other large freights of the same kind that, when carefully assayed, proved to be equally worthless.

The commercial spirit soon prevailed over the scientific, and in February, 1582, when Frobisher's fourth expedition was on the point of starting, the Queen expressly instructed him that the voyage was to be undertaken "only for trade and not for discovery of the passage by the north-east to Catayo,"

unless tidings of such a passage could be incidentally obtained without hindrance to the main object in view. Foiled by this prohibition from gratifying his thirst for exploration, Frobisher resigned the command to Edward Fenton, who was ordered to proceed to the Moluccas direct. He only succeeded, however, in reaching St. Vincent, and was prevented by the Spaniards from pursuing any trading operations there to advantage.

An independent attempt to open commercial relations with Turkey and the East was made by an association of London merchants in 1583, one of whose agents travelled by way of Bagdad and the Persian Gulf to Goa, and returned home in 1591, after having visited Agra and other cities of India, Ceylon, and Cochin China. Another expedition was fitted out by the Turkey company, consisting of three vessels, one of which, under the command of Captain Lancaster, reached India and Sumatra, where it shipped a cargo of spices, but was wrecked on the voyage home.

A third expedition, undertaken in 1596, was not more successful. But in spite of these failures, the scarcity and high price of Eastern products, occasioned by the long continuance of the war with Spain and the monopoly which the Dutch merchants retained in their hands, operated as a constant stimulus to the renewal of fresh attempts. In 1599 several wealthy merchants and others subscribed a fund of £30,000 for defraying the cost of annual expeditions to the East, and establishing factories at the principal commercial centres. The adventurers obtained a charter

of incorporation in the following year, and assumed the name of the East India Company, which eventually became the largest and most wealthy trading corporation in the world. Their first expedition of three or four vessels was sent out in 1601, under Captain Lancaster, who carried the Queen's letters of recommendation to the King of Sumatra and other Eastern princes. At Acheen and Bantam, he was cordially welcomed by the native rulers, who granted him ample trading privileges, and sanctioned the establishment of factories. The development of the prosperous course thus inaugurated belongs to the history of a subsequent period.

Other voyages undertaken by navigators animated by the same enthusiasm as Frobisher to discover a north-western or north-eastern passage to the East were equally unsuccessful, but indirectly led to the acquisition of geographical knowledge. Borough, Davis, and Pet are thus deservedly remembered in connexion with the straits on the North American continent which bear their names. The meed of honour due to English seamen for their share in the discovery of the New World and similar enterprises was worthily claimed by their chronicler, Richard Hakluyt, in two volumes which he published in 1582 and 1589. His second work, "The Principal Navigations, Voyages, and Discoveries made by the English Nation," is one of the classics of Elizabethan literature. Its record was carried on in the following reigns by Samuel Purchas, whose "Pilgrimes" eventually extended to five volumes.

The buccaneering expedition into the Spanish

Main organised by Francis Drake in 1577 achieved, over and above its important military and political results, the notable exploit of sailing round the globe, a feat accomplished but once before by the Portuguese navigator, Magelhanes, or Magellan. The same success attended an expedition fitted out and commanded by Thomas Cavendish in 1586. Another voyage to the South Seas, undertaken by Cavendish and Davis in 1591, resulted in the discovery of the Falkland Islands.

It was by one of the enthusiasts who dreamed of the discovery of a north-west passage that the earliest foundations of our colonial empire were laid. In 1578, Sir Humphrey Gilbert, a half-brother of Sir Walter Raleigh, obtained letters patent authorising him to colonise any parts of North America not already belonging to an ally of the Queen. The first expedition organised by the brothers failed at the outset. The second, which started in 1583 with four vessels, reached Newfoundland, but Gilbert and his ship perished in a storm, and only one of the four returned to England. In the following year, Raleigh repeated the attempt with two ships, having procured a grant to himself of all such lands as he might discover, subject to the reservation of a fifth part of all precious metals to the Crown. His enterprise was rewarded by the discovery of the district which now constitutes the States of Virginia and North Carolina, the former title being given to it in honour of the virgin Queen. After obtaining an Act of Parliament to confirm his title, Raleigh despatched seven ships in 1585, under Sir Richard Grenville,

who took possession of the territory, and left a colony of upwards of a hundred settlers on the adjoining island of Roanoke. Here they came into collision with the native Indians, and were thankful to take advantage of the opportunity to return home which was afforded them by Drake's touching at the island in 1586. They brought back samples of the Indian weed, tobacco, which is now one of the most important exports from that country. Several other attempts were made by Raleigh during the reign of Elizabeth to colonise the territory which he had acquired, but the natives continued persistently hostile and all the settlers perished. It was not until the following reign that our first colony there was permanently established.

Tentative and even abortive as were these early efforts of scientific, commercial, and colonising enterprise, they attested the vigorous activity of the Elizabethan period. The enlargement of mental horizon, the new ideas of distance, climate, landscape, natural history, and national distinctions which the travellers acquired, and communicated to their untravelled countrymen, were incontestable gains. Though their tangible profits were as yet scanty, these expeditions afforded a rich promise of the future harvest. Regarded as initial steps in the development of our multiplex system of international relations and our vast colonial empire, they occupy a prominent place among foreign contributions to our growth.

CHAPTER VII.

Foreign influences on political history during the reign of
James I.

By the accession of the King of Scots to the throne of Elizabeth, England virtually became subject to a foreign prince. Half English as he was by the tie of blood, the mould of his mind, the colour of his sympathies, the training he had received, and the traditions he had imbibed practically constituted him an alien. His mental ability was considerable, and he had cultivated it highly in more than one field of learning ; but his scholarship was marred by pedantry and conceit, and the philosophical rules of "kingcraft" which he prescribed for his own guidance needed common sense and discretion to apply them, which he did not possess. The sensual weakness and lax moral fibre which he inherited from both his parents rendered him prone to self-indulgence and prodigality, and the easy prey of designing favourites. In youth he had suffered much from the turbulence of party strife among the nobles, who disputed for the regency in his name, and it was only by slow degrees that he attained to independence of their control. The remembrance served to intensify his confidence in his ability to govern alone, without being subjected to the checks which a Council of ministers and a Parliament necessarily

impose. Though a Protestant by conviction and skilled in theological controversy, he had contracted a strong aversion to the Calvinistic system, from his experience of the opposition offered by its professors to his government of Scotland. The hierarchical organisation of the Church naturally commended itself to his theory of the divine right and absolute authority of kings. The democratic element which entered into the composition of the local presbyteries and General Assembly of the Kirk of Scotland inspired him with such repugnance that from the time he became his own master he never rested until he had restored episcopacy to supreme rank, and succeeded, after a long struggle, in reducing the most stubborn of Knox's followers into silence, if not submission. It was fresh from the memory of this conflict that he came to the English throne. The want of sympathy between him and his subjects upon the questions which they had most at heart soon became apparent. The bulk of the nation was now strongly Protestant in feeling, with a decided bias in the direction of Puritanism. The policy which Elizabeth had so long pursued of maintaining the Protestant cause abroad by a close alliance with the French Huguenots and Dutch Calvinists, and an uncompromising resistance to Rome and Spain, and of repressing the power of Catholicism at home by severe penalties, was cherished by Parliament and the people. Among the earliest acts of James which aroused their mistrust were his negotiations with the Papacy and with Spain and his relaxation of the laws against recusancy, while the

coldness which he showed towards France and the harshness of his language in private concerning the Dutch "rebels" excited much irritation. His real object appears to have been to make his throne safe ; the negotiations with Rome being designed to secure the Catholics from plotting by the promise of a milder *régime*, and overtures of peace being addressed to Spain to prevent their looking to its power for aid. But his aim was either not perceived or not appreciated, and the course of events forced him to adopt a different policy.

Our attention being restricted to the operation of foreign influences upon the national progress, a cursory notice is all that can be given to the merely domestic history of this reign.

After successfully coping with two plots, indicating the existence of discontent in various quarters, which broke out soon after his accession, James came into collision with the Puritan party in the Church upon the questions of eliminating from its ritual the forms which they associated with Romish superstition, such as the cross in baptism, the surplice, and bowing at the name of Jesus ; of enforcing a stricter observance of the Sabbath ; issuing a new translation of the Bible, and similar reforms. Though presiding at the conference of divines summoned for the discussion of these questions at Hampton Court, he showed no intention of impartially considering them, rating the Puritan delegates in the tone he had adopted towards the presbyteries of Scotland, and closing the discussion by a threat that he would enforce his own system of Church-government against all opposition.

The only points upon which he and the Bishops (who as a body sided with him) consented to gratify the petitioners were the removal of two or three objectionable phrases in the Prayer-book and the issue of a new translation of the Bible, the existing Authorised Version, which was completed in 1611.

In the same temper James met his first Parliament in 1604. His proposals for concluding peace with Spain and for uniting England and Scotland in one realm of Great Britain were coldly received by the Commons, who were primarily bent upon obtaining religious reform and a mitigation of the severe feudal exactions which the Crown retained. The Bills which they framed with this end having been thrown out by the Lords, at the King's instance, the Commons addressed him in bold language, which repudiated any "absolute power" residing in the kings of England "to alter religion," or to make any laws concerning it, "except by consent of Parliament." His answer was an angry rebuke, and as the House did not proceed to vote the subsidy he demanded, he adjourned Parliament. His contempt of their resolution that the question of union between England and Scotland should be referred to a commission for inquiry was shown by his immediate assumption of the title of King of Great Britain. The Bishops, fortified by his support, took the opportunity of violating the compromise which enabled the Puritan clergy who subscribed such of the Thirty-nine Articles as related to the doctrines and sacraments of the Church to evade subscription to those which concerned questions of discipline.

Pursuant to a resolution of Convocation, the Primate Bancroft, who led the anti-Puritan party, required all beneficed clergymen to conform to the prescribed rubrics. The refusal of three hundred Puritan incumbents to comply with this stipulation was punished by their ejection in 1605.

The remission of the penalties against recusants having raised the hopes of the Catholics, the number of those who avowed their faith was much increased, and several conversions were reported. Parliament, in alarm, re-enacted the coercive statutes of the last reign, and a rumour that the King had himself become a convert irritated him into putting them in force and reviving the fines on recusancy. The frustration of their expectations excited the fanaticism of a few Catholics to strike terror into their enemies by destroying the King and the members of both Houses at a blow. The "Gunpowder Plot" was communicated by its authors to several Catholic gentlemen of distinction, and eventually to Father Garnet, the provincial of the English Jesuits. It was discovered by the Government shortly before the day fixed for its execution, by means of a letter written by one of the band to warn a Catholic peer not to be present at the opening of Parliament. The chief conspirators were captured, and after a long examination and trial were sent with their accomplices to the block. Several Catholic peers were arrested on suspicion, fined, and imprisoned.

The sense of their common danger drew the King and the Parliament into accord, and after a series of penal statutes against the Catholics had been

unanimously passed, a subsidy was voted in 1606 for the payment of the heavy charges incurred by his profuse expenditure. This proving insufficient, he resorted to the arbitrary levy of imposts upon exports and imports,—a practice which the Plantagenets had been forced to abandon, and which the Tudors had but rarely revived. As the foreign commerce of England had by this time vastly increased, the revenue thus derived rendered him almost independent of subsidies. Parliament vainly protested against the innovation, and an attempt by a London merchant to dispute the legality of the imposts was defeated by a judgment of the Court of Exchequer. The Commons again came into collision with the King in 1607, upon the subject of the naturalisation of Scotchmen born after his accession. The contention of James, in which he was supported by the opinion of the judges, was, that all such persons had become naturalised Englishmen; whereas the House, repudiating a conclusion which implied the dependence of the nation on the King, proposed to naturalise all Scotchmen by statute. The King refusing this compromise, the measures which had been under consideration by the Commons for abolishing hostile laws and establishing free trade between England and Scotland were abandoned, and the union of the two countries was postponed for another century.

In Scotland, James pursued a similar policy of ignoring or over-riding the popular will; silencing the General Assembly by proroguing its meetings year after year; punishing by imprisonment and exile a few daring members who resisted his mandates, and

enforcing episcopal control over the provincial synods and presbyteries. His theory of "divine right" was now recognised by the hierarchy as a fundamental principle, and the doctrine of "passive obedience" preached from the pulpit and taught in the university. The distrust created by this coalition against public liberty occasioned more than one outburst of Parliamentary irritation, and culminated in a definite breach between the King and the Commons in 1610.

Large as was the revenue which James derived from the imposition of custom-duties, his expenditure so greatly exceeded it that his minister, Robert Cecil, Lord Salisbury, after vainly trying to induce economy, tendered the advice that a subsidy should be demanded from Parliament. As the son of Burghley and trained in the traditions of Elizabethan statesmanship, Cecil viewed with alarm the subversion of that good understanding between the sovereign and the nation upon which the stability of the throne had been based, and directed his efforts to bring about a reconciliation. The condition of affairs abroad added to his uneasiness. He had laboured to maintain the relations with foreign States which Elizabeth's policy established. With Spain, which, though still strong, was no longer formidable, peace was prudently made; but the Dutch alliance was adhered to, and a friendly though less intimate understanding preserved with France. The war between Spain and the Provinces had been determined by a truce for twelve years, which was concluded in 1609 by the mediation of England and France. The greatest danger that now threatened the Protestant cause in Europe was

arising in Germany. The German possessions of Charles V., which had passed with the Imperial crown to his brother Ferdinand, now comprehended the Austrian Duchy, the Tyrol, Hungary, Bohemia, Moravia, and other provinces. The tolerant policy of Ferdinand and his successors had hitherto secured peace between Catholics and Protestants upon the basis of the treaty of Passau made between Maurice, Duke of Saxony, and Charles V. That treaty, while recognising the permanent secularisation of lands formerly belonging to the Church, did not provide for future contingencies. Lutheranism, however, spread rapidly over the Austrian dominions, and in Northern Germany much additional Church-land became secularised. The counter-reformation, organised by the zeal of the Jesuits, offered a powerful check to this movement, and the strife between Lutherans and Calvinists strengthened the hands of the Catholic reactionaries. They agitated for the restoration of the Church-lands, and the Emperor Rudolph, at their instigation, attempted in 1606 to enforce Catholic conformity throughout Austria. This policy being maintained by his successor, Matthias, the Calvinistic States of the Palatinate, Hesse and Baden, whose safety was especially endangered, entered into a Protestant Union in 1608,—a step which was immediately checked by the formation of a Catholic League. Spain and France showed intentions of taking part in the dispute, and a European war was imminent, which Cecil held could only be averted by England's mediation. This could only be effective if supported by a show of force, for which the means were wanting

unless supplied by Parliament. His scheme for bringing about an accord between it and the Crown resolved itself into a bargain or "contract," whereby the King was to surrender his feudal rights and his title to levy imposts at will, in consideration of Parliamentary sanction being given to those already levied, the grant of a subsidy to discharge his debts, and the increase of his revenue by £200,000 a year.

When the Houses assembled in 1610, the Commons showed themselves in no mood to accept these offers, unless coupled with further concessions. Their complaints against the Crown embraced temporal and spiritual grievances; not only the levying of imposts, but the attempt to give royal proclamations the force of laws, the establishment of new courts, the deposition of godly ministers on account of scruples to accept the rubrics, the continuance of pluralities, and the inadequate training of the clergy. The King refusing to limit his prerogative in ecclesiastical matters, and the Commons tenaciously adhering to their resolution, the "contract" was abandoned, and in February, 1611, James dissolved Parliament. The failure of his scheme of reconciliation so disappointed Cecil that it is believed to have hastened his death in the following year. He succeeded, however, in an effort to strengthen the accord between English and Continental Protestants by bringing about a marriage between the King's eldest daughter, Elizabeth, and the heir of the Elector Palatine, who headed the Protestant Union.

The King, now unrestrained by any relic of Eliza-

bethan traditions, indulged his ambition to be his own minister. Even the Council, which the Tudors had never failed to consult and whose support had given weight to their mandates, was slighted by neglect, and its influence subordinated to that of successive favourites, whose title to the royal regard rested upon their possession of merely personal attractions. The most influential of them was a Scotch youth named Carr, who was raised to the rank of Viscount Rochester and Earl of Somerset. Under his *régime* the extravagance of the Court was recklessly increased, and the King's proclivity to sensual indulgence displayed itself in gross excesses which excited public contempt. The necessity of obtaining a subsidy to supply the deficit occasioned by this waste forced James to summon Parliament in 1614, but the new House refused, like the last, to grant supplies until its grievances had been considered. The King rejecting this demand, a deadlock ensued, and, after a fruitless session of two months, resulted in a dissolution.

In defiance of the protest of the Commons, James continued to levy imposts, issue proclamations, and maintain ecclesiastical abuses. For a time he obtained some relief from his load of debt by selling to the United Provinces the towns which they had left in the hands of Elizabeth as pledges for the repayment of her loan to them, but this fund proving inadequate, he resorted to the expedient of raising money by "benevolences." Their exaction being forbidden by a statute of Richard III., letters of request were despatched to the landowners of each county, on the

pretext that assistance was needed to defend the Protestant cause in Germany. Notwithstanding these efforts, the sum of £60,000 was all that could be obtained from this source during three years. Other expedients were then tried—feudal exactions were rigorously pressed, fines extorted for the breach of royal proclamations, peerages sold to wealthy bidders or forced upon prosperous commoners against their will. These despotic courses alienated the sympathies of almost every class in turn. The climax was reached when the Judges, who had shown the utmost obsequiousness to the King's will, were driven to protest against his attempt to extend, by an assertion of prerogative, the jurisdiction of the ecclesiastical courts. James met their protest by an angry scolding, which reduced all to submission except the Chief Justice, Sir Edward Coke, who, standing upon the dignity of his office, was deprived of it in 1616.

The same year witnessed the fall from power of the worthless Somerset, on account of his complicity in a murder committed by his wife, the sequel of an adulterous intrigue at which the King himself had connived. Before his fall Somerset had been supplanted in the royal favour by a minion equally worthless and even more mischievous, George Villiers, who quickly rose to the rank of Duke of Buckingham and the office of Lord High Admiral. By his brilliant audacity, strong will, and devotion to the service of the Crown, he established a hold over the King's mind, which was riveted by the affection entertained for him by Prince Charles, now heir to

the throne.¹ During the remainder of the reign the favourite exercised a virtual tyranny in the King's name, which he shamelessly abused to the aggrandisement of himself and his family, and the sacrifice of the most cherished interests of the nation.

The European complications which had awakened Cecil's anxiety were rapidly increasing, and the marriage of the Princess Elizabeth with the heir of the Elector Palatine had produced the effect which he intended of stimulating the sympathy of England with the Protestant cause. The King, though a lukewarm partisan, desired on his daughter's account to avert the war which threatened the safety of the Union, but his device for securing peace was to ally himself with Spain, whose policy was supposed to be pacific, and the weight of whose influence was strong enough to sway the Catholic States. It had already thrown out suggestions of a possible marriage between Prince Charles and a Spanish Infanta, the idea of which not only gratified the vanity of James, but held out the promise of a rich dowry, which would render him independent of Parliament. That Spain would demand a *quid pro quo*, by stipulating that English Catholics should be relieved from their restrictions and that the offspring of the marriage should be trained in the mother's faith, did not enter into the King's calculation. In 1614 he made a definite matrimonial proposition to the Court of Spain, which received an indefinite but encouraging reply. The motives that seem to have actuated the Spanish Court

¹ His elder brother, Henry, a youth of great promise, had died in 1612.

throughout the ensuing negotiations were, by flattering the hopes of James, to secure his inactivity in the impending war, and to obtain some relaxation of the severity which pressed upon his Catholic subjects. Once kindled in South Germany, the flame of war would undoubtedly spread northward to the Rhenish Palatinate, which Spain regarded as the highway from her Italian possessions to the Netherlands, and anxiously desired to keep in friendly hands. Upon all these grounds the Spanish Court was disposed to entertain the overtures of James favourably, without committing itself to their acceptance.

The negotiations with Spain for the purpose of providing the Prince with a Catholic wife excited deep indignation in England. An ingenious design of luring James by his appetite for gain and embroiling the two countries in hostility, suggested itself to the mind of Sir Walter Raleigh, who had remained a State prisoner in the Tower since 1603, under a sentence of death recorded against him for alleged complicity in a plot. In one of his voyages he had discovered the existence of a gold-mine on the River Orinoco, which he had never explored, and now solicited the King's sanction to revisit, and work for the profit of the Crown. James assented to set him at liberty for this purpose, upon condition that no attack should be made upon the territory or subjects of Spain. Having by dint of great pecuniary sacrifices collected a fleet of fourteen vessels, Raleigh sailed in March, 1617, for the coast of Guiana, where one of his officers came into collision with the Spaniards, who were in force at the town of

St. Thomas. The governor, a relative of Gondomar, the Spanish envoy in London, was killed on the one side, and Sir Walter Raleigh's eldest son on the other, and the town was set on fire. After failing to discover the mine and suffering further losses, Raleigh returned to England, where he was proclaimed and arrested. Gondomar clamoured for his death, and was assured by Buckingham, in the King's name, that the deferred sentence should be executed. Raleigh's gallant defence and appeal to the royal clemency were unavailing, and in October, 1618, he was beheaded.

The religious conflict in Germany had already broken out. In 1617 the Bohemian Diet accepted Ferdinand as the successor of their King, the Emperor Matthias; but his intolerance drove the nobles to a violent demonstration in May, 1618, which was followed by a call to arms. For awhile the war was limited to his dominions; but by the death of Matthias, in 1619, Ferdinand succeeded to the Austrian Duchy, and became a candidate for the Imperial throne. Dissensions between the Lutheran and Calvinistic princes, who, if united, might have defeated him, brought about his election. The Bohemians, renouncing their allegiance to him, offered the throne to Frederick, the son-in-law of James, now Elector-Palatine and a leader of the Calvinistic Union. He accepted the offer, and was crowned at Prague, but met with less support than he expected. His colleagues in the Union were restrained from helping him by the threats of France, which dreaded the neighbourhood of a State whose

sympathy with the Huguenot party might reopen strife in her midst. James was indignant that his son-in-law should sanction the revolt of the Bohemians, and usurp the throne of their lawful ruler. All his influence was exerted to induce Frederick to retract the step he had taken, and to hinder the Dutch, who heartily approved it, from lending him assistance. The bulk of the English nation warmly advocated Frederick's cause; and Abbot, who had succeeded Bancroft as Primate, and sympathised with the Puritans, urged the King to come forward as the Protestant champion. James, however, persistently disregarded these counsels, and blindly trusted that by an alliance with Spain he could bring about peace. In 1620 his confidence was rudely shaken by her overt interposition on the side of the Emperor. Spinola, her general in the Netherlands, was ordered to march up the Rhine to assist him with a large force. James, in alarm, allowed a band of 4,000 English volunteers, under Sir Horace Vere, to enter the Palatinate; but their aid did not arrive in time to strengthen the resistance of the Protestant Union. The army of the Catholic League, under Maximilian, Duke of Bavaria, reinforced that of Ferdinand, and, after reducing Austria to submission, their united forces invaded Bohemia.

When too late to render the Protestant cause any service, James assented to the popular demand by resummoning Parliament in January, 1621. In the previous November the army of the League had inflicted a crushing defeat upon Frederick before Prague, and drove him, with his wife and children,

to take refuge in Holland. The Protestant Union had also been defeated by Spinola, whose troops over-ran the Palatinate. James was strongly urged by the German princes and the King of Denmark to despatch a force to their aid, and supplies for this purpose would willingly have been voted by the Commons. But, from fear of a rupture with Spain, which might frustrate his matrimonial project, he clung to diplomatic action in preference to war. Disappointed of its hope, the House turned for a while to the reform of domestic abuses, the suppression of monopolies, and the punishment of official corruption ; but in the course of the session of 1621, it made a fresh attempt to induce James to intervene on behalf of the Protestant cause. A unanimous resolution was passed, that, "for the recovery of the Palatinate, they would adventure their fortunes, their estates, and their lives." But beyond negotiations and threats James could not be persuaded to advance ; and when both proved fruitless, he fell back upon his old policy of waiting upon the pleasure of Spain. His suit for the Infanta's hand was eagerly renewed. A petition which the Commons presented to him on their reassembling in the autumn, that he would declare war with Spain and wed the Prince to a Protestant, he regarded as a presumptuous attempt to meddle in the affairs of state with which he was alone concerned ; treating their delegates with mockery, and threatening them with imprisonment. When the House, preserving its dignity under this provocation, passed a resolution affirming that the liberties of Parliament are the birthright of English-

men, and claiming for its members freedom of speech to debate such affairs as were urgent concerning the Crown, the State, and the Church, the King met its protest by sending for the journal of the House, and erasing the record with his own hand. He shortly afterwards dissolved Parliament.

While thus disdainful of the Protestant sympathies of the nation, James pursued his own course of endeavouring to effect the restoration of the Palatinate by means of a Spanish alliance. To win the hand of the Infanta for the Prince, he was willing to submit to any indignity. A dispensation from the Holy See being necessary to sanction the match, he sent two agents to Rome, and personally corresponded with the Pope on the subject, at the same time making a show of tolerance by liberating hundreds of Catholic recusants. The policy to which he thus clung was not only distasteful to his subjects and opposed to the advice of all his ministers except Buckingham, but had no chance of attaining the end sought. Spain, having already achieved the object for which she consented to negotiate with him, saw no advantage to be gained by carrying the project into effect. Her real designs contemplated the re-establishment of Catholicism in the Palatinate by restoring it to the son of Frederick, and bringing him up as a Catholic at the Emperor's court. She accordingly instructed her ministers to retreat from the negotiations. The eagerness of James, however, was only increased by the reluctance of Spain. Buckingham, who shared his impatience, suggested to the young Prince that the settlement of the matter

would be expedited if he repaired to Madrid, and wooed the Infanta in person. The King opposed this step as imprudent, but unwillingly consented ; and in February, 1623, Charles and Buckingham left England in disguise, under assumed names, and reached Madrid in March. The Spanish Court showed their visitors the utmost courtesy ; but when the terms of contract were discussed, the bargaining was all on one side. Charles, fortified by his father's pledge in writing to perform every promise that he made, displayed his readiness to yield all the demands urged upon him. A Catholic chapel was to be erected for the Princess, which all persons were to be at liberty to attend. Her household was to be composed of Catholics, and the children of the marriage educated in her faith. Lastly, the laws which made it penal for Catholics to worship in their own houses were to be repealed. To the arguments addressed to him, with the view of effecting his own conversion, Charles listened in silence. He and Buckingham endeavoured, on the other hand, to obtain some concession in relation to the Palatinate which might compensate England for what had been thus surrendered. Upon this point, however, the Spanish ministers would not yield ; and, when pressed, admitted that it was with Spain a maxim of state never to employ force against the Emperor. As, owing to the inaction of James, the Palatinate was now at the mercy of the League, and Frederick's Electoral title had been declared forfeited and bestowed upon the Duke of Bavaria, no hope was left of regaining either without recourse to arms. Charles, therefore, regarded Spain's positive

refusal upon this point, coupled with her evasive answers upon others, as virtually closing the negotiation; but, concealing his mortification at defeat, and affecting to consider his betrothal settled, he and Buckingham returned home.

The manifestation of delight which greeted the return of Charles after his unsuccessful enterprise attested the nation's hatred of Catholic alliances, and his popularity was only due to its ignorance of how much he had been ready to concede. The anger which he and Buckingham (by whose advice he acted) felt at having failed was soon vented in the shape of a peremptory demand to the Spanish Court, delivered by the English ambassador, that before the marriage contract could be ratified, satisfaction must be given for the surrender of the Palatinate to Frederick, or war declared upon the Emperor to enforce it. This being a distinct breach of the understanding to which Spain had agreed, she broke off the negotiations, the English ambassador was recalled, and preparations were made for war. James, though chagrined at losing the rich dowry which he expected with the Infanta, was too much in the power of Buckingham and the Prince to withstand the pressure they put upon him to break with Spain. Parliament was reluctantly resummoned in February, 1624, and a garbled version of the transactions with the Spanish Court laid before the Commons. This answered the purpose of extracting a large subsidy, which the King pledged himself to devote to the expenses of the war. A royal proclamation was then issued, declaring all treaties with Spain at an end. Besides assenting to

a petition of both Houses that the statutes against Catholics might be enforced, James announced that he would suffer no indulgence of the prohibited rites. The Prince on his own account added a pledge that, should he wed a Catholic princess, her liberty of worship should be restricted to her own family, and not extended to the recusants.

The warlike policy upon which the country was now bent, and which Buckingham undertook to conduct, involved the formation of a treaty with the United Provinces, whose territory the Spaniards had recently invaded with a large force. The Dutch were just then deservedly unpopular in England, on account of the barbarous tortures and judicial murder recently perpetrated, under colour of a charge of conspiracy, by some of their officers, upon several English merchants, whose settlement at Amboyna, one of the Spice Islands, had excited their commercial jealousy. To the demand for inquiry and redress made by the English ambassador at the Hague, a formally-apologetic reply was at last returned. With this, under the political circumstances, England was forced to be content, and four regiments of foot were raised and transported into Holland. An alliance against Spain and Austria was then contracted with the Protestant powers of Denmark and Sweden, and some of the Lutheran princes of North Germany; eventually being enlarged to include France, Savoy, and Venice. The twofold object of the campaign thus pompously inaugurated was to expel the Spaniards from the Netherlands and to recover the Palatinate, but the result of all Buckingham's preparations was

but disaster and disgrace. The Dutch troops and their English auxiliaries, commanded by Prince Maurice of Orange, were worsted by Spinola in every important engagement, and on the retirement of the Prince into winter quarters many English officers returned home. Another force of pressed recruits was despatched to the Palatinate, under the command of Count Mansfeldt, a partisan of the Elector, but, owing to the inadequate provision made for their transport, sickness and famine so thinned their numbers that by the time they reached the Rhine they were unavailing for offensive warfare.

Before the actual rupture of the marriage-treaty with Spain, James set on foot a negotiation with Louis XIII., who (on the murder of his father, Henry IV., in 1610) had succeeded to the throne of France, for the hand of his sister, Henrietta Maria. Under his weak rule the kingdom was virtually governed by his astute minister, Cardinal Richelieu, who was no more disposed than the advisers of Spain had been to assent to a dynastic alliance with a Protestant State without ample guarantees of Catholic toleration. In spite of the solemn pledges to the contrary which James and the Prince had so recently taken to Parliament, they consented, after some hesitation, to sign a secret undertaking that, in contemplation of the intended marriage, all English Catholics should be permitted to enjoy full liberty of worship without molestation. On being further pressed, they agreed to set free all Catholics imprisoned on account of their faith since the rising of Parliament, and that the recent fines for recusancy should be repaid.

Finally, James was induced by the Prince and Buckingham to promise that English ships should assist Louis in blockading the town of Rochelle, which had been seized by the Huguenot leader, Soubise, who declared his intention of holding it until security was given for toleration. It is needless to say that the exaction of these conditions was strictly concealed from the public ear in England. The preliminaries having been thus settled, the Princess prepared for her departure, but the nuptials were delayed by the death of James, which occurred after a short illness, March 27, 1625.

CHAPTER VIII.

Foreign influences on political history from the accession of Charles I. to the outbreak of the Civil War.

CHARLES, although born in Scotland three years before his father's succession to the throne of Elizabeth, spent his youth and early manhood upon English soil, but this training failed to imbue him with English sympathies. His congenital bias, the traditions he adopted from his father, and the influence exerted by his confidential advisers, so tinged his character and dictated his policy that he can only be regarded as a foreign ruler. It would be impossible, within the limits of this sketch, to trace in detail the disastrous course of his attempt to impose the yoke of autocracy upon the neck of a free people. It must suffice to dwell upon those incidents of his reign in which the operation of foreign influences is most marked, and to indicate the rest in outline.

An abiding source of foreign influence was present with Charles from the date of his accession in the person of the French Catholic princess whom he made his Queen. Though while Buckingham lived she had far less power over her husband than she afterwards obtained, she was early recognised by the nation as a visible danger. Besides the Catholic household which the bride brought with her on her arrival in June, 1625, she was attended by twenty-

nine priests, both regular and secular, together with a bishop. Mass was celebrated in her apartments, but no English man or woman was allowed to be present. The priests soon chafed at this restraint, and urged the King to fit up a chapel for their use at St. James's Palace; but, as he resented their intrusion on his domestic privacy and the injudicious influence which they exercised upon the Queen, whose capricious temper needed control, he paid no heed to the request. The limits of indulgence with which they were discontented were too wide for the satisfaction of the people's representatives in Parliament. While granting two subsidies for the war to recover the Palatinate, they petitioned the King to put the penal statutes against Catholics into immediate force. To this appeal Charles, with the pledge he had given to Richelieu fresh in his recollection, returned a gracious answer. Upon a cognate question which strongly moved the religious feeling of the Commons he was less conciliating. One of the royal chaplains, Dr. Montague, who had laid stress in his sermons upon the points in which the Anglican Church differed from that of Geneva and those in which it agreed with the Church of Rome, was summoned to answer at the bar of the House the charge of impugning the Articles agreed to in 1562. The King took umbrage at this arraignment, as a violation of his prerogative, and when Montague was committed to prison soon released him, and afterwards promoted him to a bishopric.

After another disagreement with the Commons respecting a grant of the duties of tonnage and poundage,

which, mindful of the arbitrary procedure of James, they limited to a year instead of for life, Charles justified their mistrust by proceeding to exact, on his own authority, an impost of "coat and conduct money" for the troops levied for the Palatinate. Public indignation was at the same time aroused by the discovery of the pledge given to France by James that English ships should be employed to reduce the Huguenot stronghold of Rochelle. Richelieu having applied to Charles for the fulfilment of this pledge, he reluctantly complied; but, ashamed to let the destination of the force be known, gave out that it was intended to join the French in attacking Genoa, then an ally of the Empire. The fleet had been grossly neglected under Buckingham's rule, but one man-of-war and seven large merchant-vessels were fitted out and despatched under Vice-Admiral Pennington. On arriving off Dieppe, the secret of their real destination was learned by the crew, who at once drew up a strong protest, and Pennington was forced to return to the Downs. By dint of a fresh deception, the fleet was once more mustered at Dieppe, where Pennington had received orders to deliver up his own vessel to the French commander, and to enforce obedience, if necessary, from the merchant-captains by firing upon them. He succeeded in intimidating all but one officer to permit the French troops destined for Rochelle to embark, but, having arrived there, the English crews refused to fight, and either deserted to the Huguenots or made their way home.

The mood in which the House met on reassembling

in August was calmly resolute. In reply to the King's demand for a further subsidy to carry on the war, the Commons claimed their right to discuss grievances before supplies. The continued neglect of the statutes against the Catholics, the maladministration of the navy, the concentration of many high offices of state in Buckingham's person, and the sale of others to his satellites were gravely denounced by such weighty speakers as Coke and Sir Robert Cotton. But the King's impatience would not allow time for the presentation of an address embodying these complaints. After a session of twelve days, he abruptly dissolved Parliament.

To appease the public discontent, Buckingham, by means of forced loans and the suspension of official salaries, contrived to fit out a naval armament, to which the United Provinces contributed a squadron, for a descent upon the coast of Spain, but, with his usual incapacity, he entrusted the expedition to an incompetent general, Lord Wimbledon, who, after losing many men by shipwreck and disease, returned home without having achieved the smallest success. To meet the debt incurred by this enterprise, Buckingham advised the King to summon a new Parliament, but, to guard against the opposition he expected, debarred several leading members of the House from obtaining seats by nominating them as Sheriffs of their counties. He further attempted to conciliate the Puritan party by levying fines upon recusants, and issuing a proclamation against Catholic missionaries. These tactics proved unavailing to deprecate the hostility of the Parliament which met in February,

1626. The post of patriotic leader was filled by Sir John Eliot, a Cornish country gentleman of high character and culture, fired by an ardent love of liberty. He at once stepped forth as the accuser of Buckingham, to whose evil counsels and maladministration he attributed the disasters which had befallen the nation. The minister's impeachment was voted by the Commons, and he was summoned to the bar of the Lords. While the proceedings were pending, Charles tried to quash them by arresting Eliot and another member who had drawn up the impeachment, but, the Commons refusing to attend to any business in their absence, he was forced to release them. After a month's delay, Buckingham prepared his defence, but the King would not suffer the trial to proceed, and, rejecting a petition for the favourite's dismissal, again dissolved Parliament.

After ordering all copies of the petition recently presented by the Commons to be burned, the King proceeded to levy, by forced benevolences and loans, the subsidies which they had constitutionally withheld. Every device of intimidation was resorted to in order to extort money from the nation. William Laud, Bishop of Bath and Wells, who rose into favour as chief ecclesiastical champion of the royal doctrine of "divine right," formulated instructions that the clergy should inculcate the duty of lending or giving money to the King, without Parliamentary sanction, as a merit essential to salvation. One of his partisans carried this doctrine to the length of insisting upon the subject's duty of "passive obedience" to commands of the "Lord's anointed,"

even if contrary to the laws of God or Nature. For refusing to license a sermon of this tenor, the Primate, Abbot, was suspended from his functions. A similar disgrace was inflicted upon Williams, Bishop of Lincoln, for his opposition, and the Chief Justice, Crewe, who submitted that the levy of forced loans was illegal, was dismissed from his post. Yet, in spite of all the pressure put upon the country, scarcely any funds were forthcoming. Many counties boldly declined to contribute. Several peers protested against the illegality of the levy, and two hundred gentlemen, including John Hampden, a leading landowner of Buckinghamshire, were brought before the Council and imprisoned for their refusal to lend.

At this crisis, a rupture which occurred in the relations between England and France led to a change of policy. The King's sudden dismissal of the Queen's French attendants, whose insolent behaviour and intrigues kept the royal household in continual discord, was one cause of offence to the French Court; another was the breach of faith which he committed in persecuting the English Catholics; a third was the evasion of his pledge to assist in reducing Rochelle. The quarrel was aggravated by the influence of Buckingham, whose relations with Henrietta Maria were far from cordial, and who was piqued by an intimation that his presence would be unwelcome in Paris, which he had proposed to visit. Actuated as well by these motives as by the hope of gaining popularity, he collected in July, 1627, a fleet of a hundred vessels, and, assuming the command, sailed to the relief of

Rochelle. Again his incapacity proved fatal to the expedition. After landing his troops on the Isle of Rhé, and fruitlessly besieging the castle of St. Martin, he tried to retreat to his ships over a narrow causeway under a cross-fire which swept off 2,000 of his men. On his return to England in November with the remnant of his fleet, Charles welcomed him with tokens of unabated regard, which only deepened the national aversion.

The necessity of obtaining fresh supplies obliged the King to summon a Parliament early in 1628. The elections were generally unfavourable to the Court candidates, and the prominent patriots were again returned ; Eliot's leadership being ably seconded by John Pym, a Somersetshire gentleman of statesmanlike genius and determination. At their instance the House drew up and presented a Petition of Right to the King, setting forth the statutes which forbade taxation without the authority of Parliament, the levy of forced loans, the infliction of arbitrary punishments, and praying that the violation of these statutes committed during the past and present reigns might no longer be permitted. When Charles returned an evasive answer to the Petition, Eliot proceeded to move a Remonstrance upon the state of the realm, denouncing Buckingham by name as the cause of its disorders. Though here interrupted by the Speaker, Finch, who was charged by the King to prevent any aspersion upon the minister, the Commons resolved, in defiance of this injunction, that the Duke should be named. Buckingham, who had already despatched another expedition to Rochelle, which proved as fruit-

less as the last, was hopeful of redeeming his failures by a third attempt, for which he required supplies, and advised Charles to assent to the Petition. The King, having obtained an opinion from the Judges that his prerogative right to levy dues not granted by Parliament would remain intact, assented to the Petition, with this mental reservation. The event was celebrated by a burst of popular rejoicing, and the Commons voted the subsidies demanded. But their Remonstrance, when presented to Charles, was ungraciously received, and the question of voting him the duties of tonnage and poundage for a year had no sooner been mooted than the King, who had reserved these among the taxes he intended to levy at pleasure, hastily prorogued Parliament. Amid ominous signs of his unpopularity, Buckingham, having mustered a large force of men and ships at Portsmouth, was on the eve of starting for a last expedition to Rochelle when a fanatic, named Felton, inflamed by hatred of a public enemy, stabbed him to the heart.

No change for the better resulted in the administration of affairs, the place of Buckingham being filled by Weston, one of his creatures. The expedition to Rochelle failed in accomplishing the relief of the Huguenot stronghold, whose defenders were forced to surrender it. In Germany, also, the Protestant cause lay crushed, without the tender of any effectual aid by the nation most in sympathy with it. At home, the Puritan majority saw with indignation that the party in the Church which absorbed the Crown's favour and patronage was approaching more nearly to the doctrine and ritual of Rome; Laud, now Bishop

of London, who had the control of ecclesiastical affairs, leading this movement. When Parliament reassembled in January, 1629, the reform of the Church was the first subject to which the Commons turned, and, though the King tried to divert their attention, they persisted in reavowing the interpretation of the Articles laid down in the reign of Elizabeth, and repudiating any other. They next dealt with the question of illegal customs. The Crown farmers whom they summoned to the bar of the House having refused to answer the charges brought against them, on the plea of the King's command, a protest against this evasion was drawn up by the patriot leaders, which the House was about to discuss, when the Speaker intimated that he had orders to adjourn. Determined to maintain their liberties, the door of the House was locked, and the Speaker forcibly kept in his seat, while Eliot denounced the Lord Treasurer (Weston) as responsible for the illegality in question. A series of resolutions was then passed that whoever brought in innovations in religion or advised the levy of subsidies without Parliamentary sanction was "a capital enemy to the kingdom and commonwealth," and that every one willingly complying with such unlawful acts was "a betrayer of the liberty of England."

Parliament was immediately dissolved by Charles, and a proclamation announced that, in consequence of the "abuse" of their privileges by the Commons, he must abandon his practice of frequently summoning them. For the next eleven years he governed England by the sole authority of his will. Nine of

the late Parliamentary leaders were committed to the Tower, their plea that arbitrary imprisonment was contrary to the King's confirmation of the Petition of Right being overruled by the Judges. Eliot and two other members were sentenced to heavy fines and imprisonment during the King's pleasure; the former, after a close confinement of three years and a half, dying in the Tower. Urged by the counsel of the Queen, who, now that Buckingham was removed, acquired an influence which soon became paramount,¹ Charles assumed the *rôle* of an absolute sovereign. To free himself from the need of applying to Parliament for subsidies, he studied to make peace abroad and to economise at home. After the fall of Rochelle, he had troops to spare for the aid of Protestantism in Germany, which was now crushed under the heel of the Empire, but he let the opportunity slip. The honour of reviving the hopes of the cause and recovering the Palatinate was reserved for Gustavus Adolphus, King of Sweden, by whom an appeal was made to him for help at the outset of the campaign, but Charles refused it and made a treaty of peace with Spain in 1630. When Gustavus established his reputation as a victorious general, Charles was willing to share in his success, and sent a contingent of Scotch and English troops to take part in the war; but, after the recovery of the Palatinate, when Gustavus stipulated that before handing it

¹ For details respecting the part which the Queen took in influencing her husband's foreign policy, the reader may consult Mr. Gardiner's "Personal Government of Charles I.," *passim*.

over to Frederick, Charles should declare war against Spain, he again refused, and withdrew from further action.

Every expedient was tried that the ingenuity of the Crown officers could suggest to maintain the revenue. Prerogative rights, long disused, were revived. Landowners were obliged to compound for not taking upon them the rank of knighthood. The ancient forest-laws were enforced to the uttermost, and large disafforested tracts claimed as encroachments. Defective titles were searched out by a commission, and fines exacted for renewing old grants. The jurisdiction of the Court of Star-Chamber was extended to embrace every description of offence, and inflict pecuniary penalties, which brought in enormous profits. Monopolies, which Charles had undertaken to abandon, were granted to farmers, who enhanced the price of the common articles of daily consumption. Custom-duties were levied at the ports, and loans or benevolences exacted from every shire.

The public discontent which these proceedings excited was partially checked by a prevailing conviction of the eventual triumph of justice and by the increase of commercial prosperity that accompanied peace. Many patriots, indeed, could not brook the humiliation of waiting upon a tyrant's pleasure, and, in despair of regaining freedom, sought a new home beyond the Atlantic. The patience with which the bulk of the nation bore the violation of their liberties probably deceived the King into believing that he might pursue his despotic course with impunity. This belief was not shared by Sir Thomas Wentworth, a

statesman who now filled a leading place in the administration of affairs. After a temporary allegiance to the party of patriotism, he abandoned it, and took service under Charles, who soon recognised his administrative capacity, made him a peer, and admitted him to equality with Laud in the Council. His powerful mind was possessed by the idea of exalting the royal prerogative to a height it had never yet reached in England, and of consolidating its power by such safeguards as would render resistance impossible. The arena which he chose for carrying out his favourite policy of "thorough" was the government of Ireland, where he would be less fettered by public opinion than at home.

The condition of that country, which, after the pacification of a revolt excited by Spain at the close of Elizabeth's reign, had been dealt with as a reconquered territory, offered a tempting field for further experiments. The old tribal system of land-tenure had been abolished, the chiefs constituted as land-owners, and their clansmen as tenants. The English law of trial by jury had been substituted for the ancient Brehon judicature. Efforts were made to force the people to conform to the Protestant faith, but their only result was to bring the English Catholics of the Pale into closer union with their Celtic co-religionists.

In 1610 a systematic confiscation of about two-thirds of the land in the north of Ireland was made by the English Government, upon the ground that the owners had taken part in a recent revolt. The territory thus seized was then allotted to a

number of Scotch and English colonists. The prosperity and loyalty of Ulster still testifies to the local success which attended this measure, but, so far as the rest of Ireland was concerned, it intensified the hatred of the people to English rule, and their memory of the wrong has never died out. To Wentworth, however, who relied upon the power of terrorism, disaffection presented no difficulties. During the five years that followed his appointment as Lord Deputy in 1633, the hierarchy, the nobility, and the gentry in turn were forced to submit to his despotism. While, on the one hand, he made the law respected, repressed disorder, and developed commerce; on the other, he coerced juries, stirred up discord between Catholics and Protestants, threatened the Connaught landowners with a "plantation" like that of Ulster, and summoned Parliament only to overawe it into voting large subsidies for the support of an army designed for the King's service in England. If the object of his policy were to convince Charles that it was possible to make a tool of Parliament, he undoubtedly succeeded, but at the cost of sacrificing his own life and the throne as well as the life of his master.

A corresponding policy was simultaneously pursued in England by Laud, who, on the death of Abbot, was raised to the primacy. His aim was to elevate the Church of England to equality with that of Rome, both of them being in his view branches of the Universal Catholic Church as it existed in ideal perfection before the Council of Nice. While repudiating the corruptions which had crept into the

Romish doctrine and ritual, he aspired to free Anglicanism from the innovations introduced by Luther and Calvin, whose rejection of episcopacy nullified the claim of the Reformed communions of Germany, Switzerland, Holland, and France, to orthodoxy. He rigorously carried out this theory by sundering the ties of Christian fellowship which had united the English and Continental congregations since the Reformation. The English envoy in Paris was directed not to attend the Huguenot chapel at Charenton; English merchants and soldiers in Holland were forbidden to worship in Calvinistic churches. The Huguenot and Walloon refugees were deprived of permission to perform their own services, and ordered to conform to the Anglican ritual. Many of them, rather than comply, abandoned the country. Still greater severity was shown in coercing the Puritan party, by means of the Court of High Commission. The ceremonies most obnoxious to ultra-Protestant sensibilities were enforced in every parish church, and the refractory clergy either suspended or deprived. The country gentlemen, with whom some of the ejected incumbents found shelter as private chaplains, were deprived of the privilege of keeping them. Vacant benefices were filled by High Churchmen, and an attempt on the part of the Puritans to purchase advowsons, and vest the appointment of suitable ministers in feoffees, was defeated by proceedings in the Star Chamber. The strict observance of Sunday, to which the Puritans adhered, and which a statute had been passed to maintain, was set at nought by

Laud's express orders. The "Book of Sports" drawn up by James, which declared what pastimes were lawful and desirable on Sabbath days and festivals, was reissued, and the clergy were directed to read it from the pulpit under pain of deprivation.

The tendency of Laud's anti-Puritan crusade to assimilate Anglican doctrine and practice to those of Rome was recognised by the Pope's secret offer to make him a Cardinal, and, though this was declined, he could hardly have been blind to its significance. One of his Bishops, Montague, was actually a Roman Catholic ; and another, Goodman, made a dying confession of that faith. The Romish tenets of the real presence in the Eucharist, of prayers for the dead, and auricular confession were avowed by other of the prelates and clergy. The celibacy of priests was advocated by Laud himself. The elaborate rites and splendid vestments of Romish worship were imitated in his chapel at Lambeth, and introduced into many cathedral and parish churches, all opposition on the part of parsons or churchwardens being put down by legal penalties. As the purpose of this religious policy became apparent, the panic it excited was even greater than that aroused by the aggressions upon civil liberty. While the Protestant feeling of the country was thus outraged, the Catholic recusants enjoyed comparative immunity from fines, and were unmolested in their private devotions. The Queen threw open her chapel in Somerset House to all who chose to attend, and sometimes took the young Prince with her to mass. The voice of Parliament being silenced, the zealots

of the Puritan party found no better means of protest than the issue of anonymous pamphlets, which were hawked from door to door. Publications to which the authors ventured to put their names rendered them liable to barbarous punishment. Alexander Leighton, a Puritan minister, who had written disrespectfully of the Queen and the Bishops, was cited by Laud in the Star Chamber, and condemned to degradation from his office, exposure in the pillory, flogging, mutilation, and branding, followed by imprisonment for life. A similar sentence was inflicted upon William Prynne, a learned antiquary, for publishing a fanatical tirade against the stage, which indirectly reflected upon the Queen. Puritans of a less violent type, hopeless of contending against such persecutors, accepted the alternative of emigrating to the American colonies of Virginia and New England. During the eleven years that Parliament was in abeyance, the number of emigrants, of whom the bulk came from the eastern counties, is estimated at 20,000. It included men of various callings, associated by the sympathy of strong religious feeling and narrow but profound convictions. The effect produced by the persecution they had undergone was shown by their abolition of episcopal government and prohibition of the Prayer-book in the worship of their Colonial churches.

By the economy of Weston, Lord Portland, the arbitrary levying of imposts, and grants of monopolies, Charles succeeded in reducing the debts of the Crown and in equalising his revenue and expenditure. But no margin was left for extraordinary

charges, and soon after Weston's death, in 1635, the need of providing for them arose in connexion with foreign affairs. The alliance between France and Holland, in which England had formerly joined, had grown since the Stuarts abandoned it into a formidable rivalry against her. The ancient hostility of France had revived; the Dutch were now avowed competitors of the English merchants all over the world. A union of the two fleets would have given them command of the Channel, and a project for partitioning the Spanish provinces in the Netherlands was reported to be in contemplation, whereby Dunkirk was to be allotted to France. To foil this project, Charles negotiated with Spain, and agreed to share with her the cost of providing a defensive fleet. At the instance of his law-officer, Noy, he revived an obsolete usage of demanding the provision of ships from the port-towns and sea-board counties, and by dint of fines and imprisonments exacted sufficient money to equip a fleet; but, Spain having failed to fulfil her contract, Charles would not venture upon the expedition alone. By Laud's advice, however, he resolved to increase the navy, by extending the levy of "ship-money" to the whole country. This fresh violation of constitutional law gave an increased impetus to emigration, several peers and landowners preparing for settlement in America. Among the number was John Hampden, who had retired to his estate when the Parliament of 1629 was dissolved. But he abandoned the idea of emigration at the bidding of a sudden impulse to withstand the illegal exaction of ship-money in Buckinghamshire, and

headed the list of those who refused to pay it. In May, 1637, Hampden was summoned by a writ from the Exchequer to show cause why his lands should not be charged with ship-money, and the matter was argued before the Bench for twelve days in the winter of that year. While the Crown relied upon its prerogative, it was proved on behalf of Hampden that the impost had only been levied upon occasions of danger within the maritime counties and sea-ports, and that all arbitrary taxation was disallowed by the Petition of Right. The Court delayed judgment for several months, and in the meantime an opposition to the King's despotic course from a foreign quarter, which had long been gathering force, assumed a menacing aspect.

Since the revival by James of episcopal government in Scotland, and the subjection of the General Assembly to the Crown, that country had remained quiescent. The late King, satisfied with this modicum of authority, and knowing the temper of the people too well to attempt to force the English Liturgy and Canons upon them, had rejected Laud's advice to that effect. But Charles had more obstinacy and less acumen, and when Laud, now in full power, repeated this counsel, he determined to follow it. The first innovation was cautiously made by directing the Bishops to assume their canonical vestments, but was followed by a royal warrant that all ministers should wear the surplice. Resistance was at once aroused; parish meetings were held throughout the country, and ministers who obeyed the mandate were abandoned by their flocks. Though several nobles

supported this opposition, Charles disregarded it. In 1636 he issued a Book of Canons, which put the whole government of the Church under episcopal rule, subordinated to the Crown, and in the following year prescribed a new Liturgy, founded upon the Anglican Prayer-book, in place of the Book of Common Order, which Knox had modelled upon the Liturgy of Calvin. In July, 1637, the first attempt to use the new Liturgy in St. Giles's Church, Edinburgh, led to a riot, which obliged the authorities to clear the church. After applying to the Judges, who decided that the royal injunction did not require the use of the Liturgy, but its purchase only, the clergy discontinued the service, but were peremptorily ordered by Laud to resume it. Protests against this order were sent in from all parts of the kingdom, the nobles were charged with petitions to the King, and an organised opposition was formed in Edinburgh.

This revolt emboldened the English Puritans to intemperate denunciations of the tyranny under which they were writhing. Prynne from his prison put forth a tract which reviled the Bishops as wolves and agents of hell, and a clergyman named Burton appealed to the resistance of all Christians against them. The writers were summoned by Laud into the Star Chamber, and sentenced to his favourite punishments of mutilation in the pillory and imprisonment for life. An immense crowd applauded the victims as martyrs, and groaned at their sufferings, but these symptoms of public discontent only provoked Laud to redoubled severities.

In June, 1638, while the agitation was at its height,

the Judges delivered their decision in the case of the King against Hampden, a majority of seven against five pronouncing that all statutes were void which limited the King's power to tax his subjects at will. Though the obvious effect of this decree was to rivet the yoke of tyranny, it was followed by no immediate outbreak; the nation, which already watched the progress of affairs in Scotland with keen interest, discerning that the same issue was at stake upon both sides of the Tweed. The resistance organised by the Scots to the enforcement of the new Liturgy took the form of a renewal of the Covenant drawn up on the occasion of Mary Stuart's intrigues with Spain to overthrow the Reformation and restore the Romish faith. In March, 1638, this was signed by an enthusiastic assembly in the Grey Friars' Churchyard, Edinburgh, and subscriptions to it were obtained from all parts of the country. The Marquis of Hamilton, whom the King sent to put down the agitation, was met by a unanimous demand for the withdrawal of the Liturgy and Canons and the restoration of freedom to Parliament and the General Assembly. His threats of war were disregarded, and the Lords of the Scottish Council were so alarmed by the aspect of affairs that they advised Charles to yield. Rejecting this advice, he endeavoured to raise money and troops for the work of coercion. After applying in vain to Spain for a loan, or for a small force to enable him to hold Edinburgh, he was obliged to equip a fleet with funds subscribed by the English Catholics. The Scots meantime prepared for a campaign. Many volunteers who had enlisted

on the Protestant side in Germany were summoned home; a tax was raised throughout the kingdom, and the command of the army entrusted to General Leslie, who had served under Gustavus Adolphus. Their determined attitude forced the King to temporise. Hamilton was instructed to promise that the Covenant should be allowed, the Liturgy revoked, and episcopal authority curtailed; that the General Assembly should be immediately summoned, and Parliament convoked in the following year. In November, 1638, the Assembly accordingly met, but no sooner indicated its intention of denouncing episcopal government than it was dissolved by Hamilton. In defiance of his mandate, a majority of the members resolved that the session should continue, and passed a series of Acts which restored Presbyterian Church-government, and set aside the High Commission, Liturgy, and Canons prescribed by Laud as null and void.

Charles now resolved to put down the rebellion by force, and was vehemently urged to that course by Laud and Wentworth, who dreaded the effect of a successful resistance in Scotland upon the English Puritans. Their sympathy with the rebels was notorious, and it was surmised that the leaders of the two parties were in correspondence. Though Charles mustered an army at York and sent a fleet into the Forth, he hesitated to cross the border. But the resolution of the Scots was firmer than his own. Edinburgh, Stirling, and Dumbarton were seized, and a strong force occupied Aberdeen. As soon as the fleet entered the Forth, Leslie marched to the Tweed,

and when the royal troops advanced to meet him put his troops in array of battle. But the King soon found that he could not trust his own army, and was constrained to temporise once more by assenting to the demands of the Scots for a free Assembly and a new Parliament. Their leaders, who put no faith in his promises, prepared for the worst by seeking the aid of France. The favourable reception of their overtures by Richelieu coming to the knowledge of Charles, he sought to turn it to advantage. Wentworth (now raised to be Earl of Strafford) advised him to summon an English Parliament, and appeal to its loyalty, upon the production of this treasonable correspondence, for a large subsidy to suppress the rebellion. The writs were issued, and Parliament met in April, 1640. But its composition and temper were unchanged by the lapse of eleven years, and Charles and his advisers failed to delude the patriot leaders into voting for a war with their Scottish brethren. Before supplies were granted, they insisted upon the redress of the wrongs inflicted on the national faith and liberty. After a vain attempt to bribe the Commons by offering to abandon ship-money, Charles dissolved Parliament. His evil genius, Strafford, persuaded him that, with the aid of Irish troops whom he had collected, the army mustered in the north was strong enough to overpower the Scots. But the Covenanter generals, Leslie and Montrose, were already prepared for the campaign. Crossing the border in August, their army encountered the royal troops at a ford of the Tyne, and effected its passage with little resistance, the discomfited

English retreating first to Newcastle, and thence to York. From Newcastle the Scots sent proposals of peace to the King, praying that their grievances should be considered and a firm peace settled, by the advice of the English Parliament. Unable to rely upon his troops, which proved too undisciplined for active service, Charles was forced to negotiate for a truce. From his difficulties at home no escape seemed possible without resummoning Parliament. A petition to this effect, presented to him by twelve peers, setting forth the disaffected condition of the country, was seconded by the citizens of London and the gentry of Yorkshire. All attempts to raise a loan from the great mercantile bodies failed. A London mob attacked Laud's palace at Lambeth, and when one of the ringleaders was executed for treason, his followers took reprisals by breaking open the prisons. The newly-levied troops mutinied against their officers who belonged to Laud's party, and manifested their Puritan sympathies by tearing down the altar-rails in the churches as they passed. Yielding to the necessity, Charles convoked a great Council of the peers at York, at which he announced his intention of summoning Parliament, and conferred with them upon the urgency of a settlement with the Scots. Terms were at last arranged whereby the Scottish army was to retain possession of Durham and Northumberland, and be maintained by the King until a definitive treaty should be signed, the English army meantime remaining undisbanded.

The new Parliament, known hereafter as the Long Parliament, met on November 3, 1640. Pym, Hamp-

den, and the patriotic party were strengthened by notable accessions. The nation's sense of the crisis was attested by a sudden suspension of the tide of emigration to New England, a copious issue of political pamphlets, and an influx into the House of petitions from all parts of the country. The first task of the Commons was to draw up a list of the leading agents of royal misgovernment, and frame indictments against them. Strafford, as the master-spirit and an apostate from the faith of patriotism, headed the list. His impeachment was voted, and he was committed to the Tower. Finch, Lord Keeper, and Windebank, a Secretary of State, fled into exile to escape similar charges. Laud was the next to fall, and Sir Robert Berkeley, one of the Judges who had decreed the legality of ship-money, shared his fate. By a series of Acts the illegality of that impost was affirmed, the judgment in Hampden's case set aside, and taxation without the consent of Parliament declared invalid. Prynne and other victims of Laud's cruelty were released from prison, and made a triumphal entry into London. Commissioners were despatched into every county to demolish or remove images and other "reliques of idolatry out of all churches and chapels." The debates of a Committee appointed to consider the question of Church-reform manifested great diversity of opinion, a Presbyterian section demanding the abolition of episcopal government, and another, led by the younger Sir Harry Vane, being as hostile to Presbyterianism as to Prelacy. The bulk of the House, however, agreed, as a modicum of reform, to the exclusion of the

Bishops from the House of Lords, and in March, 1641, a Bill to that effect was carried.

The King was, for the moment, too paralysed by the rapidity of these assaults on his prerogative to attempt resistance. Intending to save Strafford's life he did not interfere with his impeachment; but when, after a fortnight's trial, the Commons abandoned proceedings the success of which was questionable, and substituted a bill of attainder that was carried by both Houses, Charles saw a chance of intervening. Negotiations for a compromise took place between him and the Parliamentary leaders. The arrangement in contemplation would have entrusted them with the chief administration of home and foreign affairs, but all hope of effecting it was soon dispelled by evidence of the King's bad faith. Urged by the Queen, who was furious at the idea of yielding to rebels against the Crown and the Puritan enemies of her faith, Charles lent a favourable ear to two schemes of intrigue. One was suggested by some of the Scotch lords, who had quarrelled among themselves, that he should head a reactionary movement against the Covenanters. The other was a plot of certain officers of the army, still undisbanded at York, to march to London, set Strafford free, and coerce the Houses to obedience. This last plot became known to Pym, who at once circumvented it. The House of Lords, though leaning to the side of the Crown, was alarmed at the prospect of military terrorism. The Commons insisted that the life of the minister who was the chief representative of tyranny should be forfeited. The King, who had given Strafford a pledge of safety,

vetoed the bill of attainder. But once more urged by the Queen, who hoped to make the Earl a scapegoat, Charles yielded. On May 12, 1641, Strafford was beheaded on Tower Hill. A burst of rejoicing attested the nation's sense of relief from danger.

Implacable to those who had thus forced his inclination, Charles henceforth looked upon the Acts to which he had assented as revocable whenever he regained his freedom. He suffered the chief instruments of Laud's tyranny, the Courts of Star Chamber and High Commission, to be suppressed by Parliament without opposition. But he took the earliest opportunity of breaking his thralldom. On the death of Strafford, terms were arranged for the disbanding of both the English and Scotch armies and the settlement of a peace. Seizing the occasion to win popularity in his native land, he started for Edinburgh in August. There he harangued the Parliament, offered to confirm all the Acts of their recent session, and consented to appoint their nominees to vacant offices of state. He was equally complaisant to the General Assembly, attended the Presbyterian worship, and chose a leading Covenanter for his chaplain. Dissensions among the nobles, however, marred his plan of forming a strong Royalist party, and the strict watch kept upon his movements by commissioners despatched by the English Parliament rendered it impossible to effect a counter-revolution by surprise. While he was in Scotland, news came from Ireland which quickened the apprehension of the patriot leaders respecting his real intentions. The state of quiescence to which Straff-

ford's intimidation had reduced that country was changed into anarchy as soon as his fall became known. In October, 1641, a plot, secretly hatched by Sir Phelim O'Neal, resulted in a massacre of the settlers in Ulster, which was followed by scenes of carnage and violence in other parts of the island. As the revolt proceeded, it took the form of a Catholic confederation against Protestant rule, to which some of its leaders gave the semblance of a Royalist movement by means of a forged commission purporting to be issued by Charles from Edinburgh. The mistrust which Charles had aroused in England was shown by the credence given to this forgery, and was warranted by the evidence of his intention to turn the revolt to account by raising an army that would overawe Parliament.

Before the King's return to London in November, a party in support of his cause had been formed within the House of Commons. Under the leadership of Hyde (afterwards Lord Clarendon) it rallied round him many who, while opposed to the policy of Laud and Strafford, were loyally attached to the Crown and episcopacy, and hostile to the Puritan spirit of independence. The signs of reaction stimulated Pym and his colleagues to draw up a Remonstrance, which vindicated all that they had done upon the ground of principle, disclaimed revolutionary projects, and restricted further reforms to the execution of the statutes against Catholic recusants, the appointment of trusted ministers, and safeguards for the performance of justice. The adoption of this Remonstrance, though hotly contested by the Royalist party, was

eventually carried, and approved by the country. Political passion was now stirred on both sides, and, in spite of Pym's efforts to preserve moderation, broke out into violence upon the question of excluding Bishops from the House of Lords. That House, having thrown out the first Bill passed by the Commons, delayed its consideration when sent up a second time. Popular indignation at the delay found vent in a demonstration against the Bishops as they drove to St. Stephen's. Eleven of the Bench thereupon absented themselves from Parliament, and protested that all acts done without them would be void. Their conduct was censured by their fellow-peers, who committed them to the Tower, but the incident served to inflame the Royalists against Parliament, and provoke conflict between the troops that were mustered for the war in Ireland and the London populace.¹ Urged by the infatuated counsel of the Queen to resort to extreme measures, Charles, in January, 1642, suddenly instructed the Attorney-General to impeach Pym, Hampden, and three other members of the Commons, at the bar of the Lords. After vainly sending a herald to demand their surrender, he visited the House of Commons in person to enforce obedience. As soon as his coming was announced, the five members were directed by the House to withdraw. His angry summons was received in silence ; and, in reply to his question as

¹ The party-names of "Cavalier" and "Roundhead" originated during this conflict, from the prominence of soldiers of fortune among the troops, and of apprentices, who wore closely-cropped hair, among the populace.

to where they were hidden, the Speaker (Lenthall) protested that he could only see or say what the House commanded him. Charles had to retire disappointed, and met with a similar rebuff from the Corporation of London, with whom the five members had taken refuge. His writs for their arrest were not executed by the Sheriff, and a proclamation declaring them traitors was ignored. The fatal mistake he had committed alienated some of his Parliamentary supporters, and the threatening attitude of the people intimidated his troops, so that he was for the time powerless. On learning that the five members were about to return to Westminster, escorted by a popular guard, he withdrew to Hampton Court.

The imminence of war was now recognised by both parties. Lord Newcastle was sent by the King to raise men in the north, and the Queen crossed the Channel to obtain arms by pledging the Crown jewels. Parliament voted that the Tower, Hull, and Portsmouth should be secured in the national interest, and bodies of mounted volunteers rode up from Kent and Buckinghamshire to offer their services. The House of Lords was constrained to pass the Bill for the exclusion of the Bishops by the evident intention of the Commons to legislate alone, if necessary, and this was the last measure which obtained the royal assent. Charles, having vetoed a Bill for raising a militia, the Parliament, on its own authority, appointed Lord-lieutenants with requisite powers. He himself procured troops by commissions of array, but to provide them with arms had to demand

entrance into the arsenal of Hull. Its governor, by the instructions of Parliament, declined to admit him, and this incident precipitated the outbreak of war. The Royalist party in both Houses, headed by Falkland and Hyde, withdrew to join the King at York. Freed from their opposition, the patriotic party completed the organisation of the militia, appointed Lord Warwick to the command of the fleet, and applied to the City of London for a loan, which was generously granted. A last effort was made by Parliament to treat with Charles, but the terms proposed, which would have vested in its hands the choice of the chief ministers of state, the appointment of guardians for the royal children, and the general control of ecclesiastical, civil, and military government, were scornfully rejected. His decision was accepted by both parties as conclusive. The Parliamentary and Royalist armies were quickly put into the field, and on October 23, 1642, the first battle of the Civil War was fought at Edge Hill.

CHAPTER IX.

Foreign influences on political history from the outbreak of the Civil War to the Restoration.

FROM the date of his final breach with Parliament Charles virtually ceased to reign. The issues for the decision of which the two parties resorted to war were wholly changed before its close. At the outset, all that the Parliamentary party desired was to compel the King to govern constitutionally. A considerable section of his own adherents was animated by the hope that, after the clash of arms, a peaceful reconciliation would be concluded. But the original leaders of the patriotic party passed away early in the struggle, Hampden falling on the battle-field in June, 1643, and Pym dying six months afterwards. Their places were filled by new leaders, of whom Cromwell, Vane, and Ireton were the most influential, whose different characters and aims gave an altered aspect to the contest. Lord Falkland, the most distinguished and moderate of the King's counsellors, also fell before the ultimate issues of the war had become apparent. The fervour of religious enthusiasm which, over-riding traditional scruples of loyalty, inspired the "Iron-sides" of Cromwell and carried them on from victory to victory, was the efficient cause by which those issues were determined. Against so potent a force the chivalry and romantic fidelity to the Crown, which

were the motive powers of the Royalist party, proved a feeble and unavailing barrier.

The details of the fratricidal conflict which, after many fluctuations, ended in the triumph of the Parliamentary over the Royalist forces, and the capture, trial, and execution of the King, do not fall within the scope of this work. It must suffice to refer to such foreign influences as served to modify the course of events. Foremost of them upon the side of the Crown was the personal influence of the Queen, whose haughty temper urged her husband to an obstinate persistence in his fatal career, while her energy in obtaining arms from abroad enabled him to protract the struggle when it was really hopeless. The support which, owing to her exertions, was tendered to his cause by the English Catholics wrought him more harm than good, by confirming the conviction of his opponents that the safety of Protestantism was at stake. Even more disastrous was the aid he sought to obtain from the confederated Irish Catholics, who, after the massacre of the English settlers already narrated, formed themselves into an Assembly, which assumed sovereign power and levied troops for the independence of the island. While an army commanded by Lord Ormond was holding them at bay in the King's name, Charles was carrying on an intrigue with the rebels through the medium of Lord Glamorgan, who succeeded in arranging an armistice. This left Ormond's force at liberty for employment in England, and Charles followed up the manœuvre by treating with the rebels, who undertook to effect a landing in Argyleshire simultaneously with a rising of the High-

land clans under Montrose, an ex-leader of the Covenanters, now one of his adherents. Upon the disclosure of this scheme, many Royalist officers resigned their commissions, and several noblemen who had joined the King at Oxford returned to London. The effect produced upon the Parliamentary party in England and the Covenanters in Scotland was to bring them into closer accord. The adoption of the Presbyterian system by the English Church was the one condition which the Scots had demanded from Pym and Vane for assisting them at a time when the King's cause appeared to be gaining ground. The negotiations might have fallen through but for the revelation of the common danger of both kingdoms. The bargain was ratified by the solemn acceptance of the Covenant by the House of Commons in September, 1643, together with a pledge for the union of the two kingdoms in firm peace and religious conformity.

The co-operation of the Scottish army in the war against the King that succeeded this event in 1644 was foremost among the foreign influences upon the side of the Parliament. Its first effect was seen in the victory of Marston Moor, which routed the Royalists in the North. The rising of the Highlanders under Montrose, supported by the landing of the Irish Catholics in Argyleshire, soon afterwards recalled the Scottish army to the border, and a series of successes gained by this diversion in the King's favour threatened for a time to undo the work which the Parliament had accomplished. But the final defeat of Montrose at Philiphaugh, following upon the rout of the King at Naseby,

dispelled any fears of a reaction in Scotland, and set the army of the Covenanters free for interposition in England. The part which it played in the closing scenes of the Civil War cannot be understood without taking into account the operation of other influences whose origin also was more or less foreign.

Nonconformity from the Anglican Church, although actually dating from the time of the Reformation, was, for nearly a century afterwards, too obscure to be reckoned as a factor in the national development. During Elizabeth's reign, when political necessity forced the Government to exact conformity as a guarantee of loyalty, dissidence of opinion upon the subject of ecclesiastical discipline began to appear in the Puritan ranks; and many who refused to conform took refuge in Holland. There the Calvinistic bias which already characterised them became intensified, and fresh divergences were gradually manifested. One dissenting community,—known as Brownists, from the name of its reputed founder, Robert Brown,—after some years' residence at Amsterdam, returned to England in 1620, with the intention of thence embarking for the New World. A section of the body, historically famous as the Pilgrim Fathers, sailed in the *Mayflower* for the coast of Massachusetts, where they founded the colony of Plymouth; and, being afterwards joined by other detachments of the body which had remained at home, eventually spread over New England. The claim of each congregation to preserve its own independence as a self-contained church became recognised as a distinctive trait, and originated the

sectarian name of Independents. Another sect, which deviated from its Puritan brethren by insisting upon the necessity of adult baptism, acquired the name of Baptists. Taking advantage of the moderation of Archbishop Abbot, many dissenting bodies came back to England, but were prevented from making converts under the rigorous rule of Laud. A large increase was made to the Independent sect soon after the opening of the Long Parliament by the return of a number of New England settlers, headed by Hugh Peters. A year later eighty Non-conformist congregations were reckoned in London alone, and many others were dispersed about the country, especially in the eastern counties. Among these miscellaneous congregations, which were largely impregnated with foreign ideas, the seeds of future sectarian developments for the present lay dormant.

The Presbyterian system had gradually commended itself to the Puritan party in the Church of England since it was first advocated by Cartwright in the reign of Elizabeth; and the Romish proclivities of Laud and his brother-prelates had disposed a large number of moderate churchmen to countenance the abolition of episcopacy. The acceptance of the Covenant by Parliament and the pledge given to Scotland for the promotion of religious conformity occasioned no public dissatisfaction. Pursuant to that pledge, an Assembly of divines was summoned to sit at Westminster, and instructed to revise the Articles, draw up a confession of faith, a manual of worship, and a scheme of government, which were finally submitted to Parliament, and formulated in

ordinances. But, meantime, the growth of Nonconformity had rapidly increased, and the chief adherents of its principles were to be found among the stoutest soldiers of the Parliamentary army, the "Ironsides" regiment organised by Cromwell.

A Puritan gentleman of Huntingdonshire, who had sat in Parliament since 1628, he had already distinguished himself in its debates as a fervid champion of the patriotic cause, but his genius as a leader of men was not disclosed until the opening of the war. Discerning that the London trainbands, of whom the first Parliamentary levies were composed, were far inferior in spirit and breeding to the knights and gentlemen who formed the bulk of the Royalist army, he set himself to bring a new force into play by enrolling a regiment of religious enthusiasts among the Puritan farmers of the eastern counties. Though himself satisfied to accept the Presbyterian transformation of the national Church, he recognised the necessity of tolerating those who dissented from any State Church whatever, and did not scruple to admit them into his regiment. The resistless valour of the Ironsides at Marston Moor, Winceby, and Newbury justified all their leader's confidence. After the passing of the "Self-renouncing Ordinance," introduced by Cromwell and Vane to exclude members of Parliament from military command, the conduct of the war, which had languished in the hands of such generals as Lords Essex and Manchester, was entrusted to men embarrassed by no aristocratic reserve or political timidity. Under Sir Thomas Fairfax as Commander-in-chief and Cromwell and

Ireton as his lieutenants, the composition of the Ironside regiment was applied upon a larger scale. "Godly" men of all ranks and all persuasions who were willing to serve were enrolled in the "New Model," as it was called,—the Act which authorised its formation containing a clause to dispense, upon occasion, with the signature of the Covenant.

Such open toleration of Nonconformity gave great offence to the London clergy, and excited much opposition in Parliament itself. Still more offensive was it to the Scots, who denounced it as a breach of the international compact. With the view of checking what they regarded as a revolutionary movement, negotiations were opened with the King; and, though these were abandoned by him, in consequence of the temporary success of his arms, they were actively renewed after his crushing defeat at Naseby. Hoping to benefit by the division in his enemies' camp, Charles intrigued at once with the Presbyterians and the Independents. Meantime, the army of the New Model was pursuing its triumphant course; and in April, 1646, pressed the King so closely that he had to choose between escaping from England or surrendering to one section of his foes. He decided on the latter course; and, eluding the troops of Fairfax, found his way by a circuitous route into the headquarters of the Scots at Newark. Relying upon the loyalty of his hereditary subjects and the support of their Presbyterian allies in the English Parliament, he hoped to recover his lost power upon easy terms. The Houses, however, were less yielding than he expected; stipulating that the command of the army

and the fleet should be given up to them for twenty years ; that Royalists who had taken up arms for the King should be excluded from office ; episcopacy abolished, and the Presbyterian system substituted. The Scots, who, with the King in their camp, had retired to Newcastle, urged him to agree to these conditions ; and he was advised to accept them by letters from the Queen herself, who was now a refugee in France. But, counting upon the growth of dissension and the action of time in his favour, he refused to do so. The Presbyterian party in the House of Commons, under their leader, Holles, then endeavoured to take the matter into their own hands. Regarding the army of the New Model as the real obstacle to religious uniformity, yet unable to disband it so long as the Scots remained in the field and held possession of the King, they proposed terms to them for surrendering his person and returning home. The Scots, weary of their fruitless efforts to bring about a settlement with the King, eventually agreed (in January, 1647) to take £400,000 in discharge of their claims upon England, transferred Charles into the keeping of a Committee of the two Houses, and recrossed the border.

Holles and his party, who commanded a majority in the Commons, proceeded to carry out their design of uniformity by establishing presbyteries throughout the country and ordering the officers of the army to subscribe the Covenant. But in attempting to disband the New Model they miscalculated their strength. Though for the most part farmers and tradesmen destitute of political ambition, these

soldiers were animated by a genuine enthusiasm for religious liberty and a resolute purpose not to return to their ordinary callings until their work was accomplished. A council of "adjutators," or assistants, whom they elected in place of their former council of officers, learning that the Parliament was about to remove the King to London, and raise a fresh army in his name, promptly despatched a body of 500 troopers, under Cornet Joyce, to Holmby House, Northamptonshire, where Charles was residing, and dispossessed the Parliamentary commissioners who had charge of his person. Cromwell, when accused by the Presbyterian party of having originated this step, disclaimed the responsibility, but seized the opportunity to ally himself with the army, which marched within a few miles of London, and thence issued a manifesto to the Parliament. Disavowing all intention of interfering with civil government or of preventing a settlement of the Presbyterian system, they stipulated for toleration of other religious tenets, until the nation had finally decided upon an established faith; and that Holles and ten members of his party, who were obstacles in the way of a peaceful decision, should withdraw from the Commons. After much debate, the obnoxious members retired, and Parliament appointed commissioners to treat with the army and the King. The conditions imposed by Ireton, who conducted the negotiations on behalf of the New Model, were singularly moderate, and displayed his grasp of the principles of toleration. Seven leading Royalists were to be banished, and the rest pardoned; Parliament was to

have the control of the army and navy for ten years, and the nomination of officers of state; the clergy were to be excluded from all but spiritual functions; belief and worship were to be freed from restraint; Acts enforcing the Covenant, the use of the Prayer-book, or attendance at church, even upon Catholics, were to be repealed; Parliament was to be summoned every three years; the electoral franchise reformed; taxation equalised; monopolies abandoned; and legal proceedings simplified. Cromwell gave these proposals the weight of his sanction, and both cherished some hope of bringing the King to an honest acceptance of them. But he was still bent upon pitting one party against another, and deceiving both for his own advantage. While these negotiations were in progress, the Londoners, who sympathised with the Presbyterian faction, broke into the Commons, and forced them to recall the eleven members who had been expelled; whereupon the Independent party took refuge with the army. Cromwell put a sudden end to the agitation, which Charles had secretly encouraged, by marching at the head of his soldiers to London, and restoring the House of Commons to its previous condition. Foiled in the design of provoking an English diversion in his favour, Charles turned to Scotland, where the bulk of the Presbyterians were indignant at the action of the New Model; and his partisan, the Duke of Hamilton, had secured a majority in the coming Parliament. Deluding Cromwell and Ireton to the last with the hope of a settlement, the King, in November, 1647, suddenly escaped from his guards

at Hampton Court, and took refuge in Carisbrook Castle. There, while renewing his negotiations with the Parliament, he secretly agreed to re-establish the Presbyterian system in England as the one condition upon which the Scots were willing to support him by an invading army. The tidings of this unexpected aid incited the Royalists to fresh efforts, and insurrection broke out in several parts of England and Wales. The Presbyterian faction in Parliament took courage to declare its adherence to monarchy, and to pass a stringent statute against the doctrine of toleration.

The spirit of the New Model was roused to its pristine vigour by the danger of the crisis. Undeceived at last by the evidence of the King's insincerity, the army resolved, at a solemn assembly, that, if they returned successful from the task of crushing the revolt, they would call "Charles Stuart, that man of blood, to account for the blood he has shed and mischief he has done to his utmost against the Lord's cause and people." While Fairfax put down the Royalist risings in Kent and Essex, and besieged Colchester, Cromwell marched into Wales and forced Pembroke to surrender. Meantime, an army of 20,000 Scots, under Hamilton, had crossed the border and advanced to Preston. With a force of but half their number, Cromwell utterly routed them, and then made a rapid march into Scotland, where he dispossessed the Royalists, and reinstated the authority of Argyle, who was loyal to the English alliance. Recalled to England by the news that the Presbyterian faction was again treating with the King;

and reinforced by the troops of Fairfax, the army insisted upon its demand for "justice on the King"; coupling therewith the stipulation that a new Parliament should be elected. Charles was meantime protracting his negotiations with the Parliamentary commissioners, in the expectation that a new Royalist movement in Ireland might enable him to set his foes at defiance. The demands of the army excited so much alarm in Parliament that the majority were ready to yield to any terms which the King asked. The decision of the army-leaders was quickly taken. A troop of horse was sent to Carisbrook, where Charles had been virtually a prisoner, and carried him off to Hurst Castle. Another troop, under Colonel Pride, was despatched to the House of Commons, and arrested or expelled 140 members of the Presbyterian faction who constituted the majority. The remainder (subsequently known as the "Rump"), who were in accord with the army, proceeded to carry out its will. A resolution was passed for the trial of the King by the Commons alone (the Lords refusing to concur), and a Court of Commissioners nominated as his judges, with Bradshaw, an eminent lawyer, as their President. On the ground of the incompetency of the Court, Charles refused to plead to the charges of treason, tyranny, and murder brought against him. Thirty-two witnesses were examined in support of them, and after a seven days' trial, he was found guilty and condemned to death. Much popular sympathy in his favour was evoked by his dignified bearing during the trial, and the self-possession which he retained to

the last. The sight of his uplifted head was witnessed by a pitying crowd with sobs and groans.

The judicial sentence of the Commons upon the King was followed, after short intervals, by the passing of Acts which abolished monarchy, established the people of England as a Commonwealth, and vested supreme authority in its representatives in Parliament. But the reception which the tidings of the King's execution met with at home and abroad was calculated to shake confidence in the stability of the new government. Public disaffection was shown, not only by Royalist intrigues, but by the retirement from the bench of half the Judges, and the refusal of hundreds of the clergy and civil functionaries to take a pledge of fealty to the Republic. In Scotland, Argyle and his fellow-Presbyterians whom Cromwell had installed in power denounced the abolition of monarchy, and invited Charles, Prince of Wales, who had taken refuge in Holland, to claim the throne. In Ireland, Ormond had dexterously united all parties on behalf of the Crown, and urged the Prince to put himself at their head. On the Continent, the States-General of Holland were foremost in opposing the Commonwealth, recognising Charles II. as King of England, and sanctioning the support promised him by his brother-in-law, the Prince of Orange, who was their Stadtholder. France and Spain were less hostile, but the former withdrew her ambassador, and even the Protestant states of Europe renounced their amity.

Cromwell's vigour was never more manifest than in his triumph over these obstacles. After putting down a mutiny in the army, provoked by the

reluctance of the Rump Parliament to make way for a more representative body, he crossed to Ireland, in August, 1649, with 9,000 men, and stormed the chief Royalist strongholds in succession,—taking terrible vengeance for the massacre of the English settlers by giving no quarter, and putting all the garrisons to the sword. During his campaign in Ireland the tidings reached him that Charles, having accepted the conditions imposed by the Presbyterian party, that he should subscribe the Covenant and renounce participation in his father's "tyranny" and his mother's "idolatry," had landed in Scotland. Leaving Ireton to complete his work, Cromwell returned to England, where he was received with acclamations, and within a month marched into Scotland at the head of 15,000 men. Leslie opposed him with a larger force, but was utterly routed near Dunbar. Edinburgh and the south of Scotland thereupon submitted, but Charles fell back upon a strong position at Stirling, which resisted the assault of the Parliamentary forces. Affecting to relinquish the attempt, Cromwell marched into Fifeshire, leaving the Prince at liberty to invade England. Against the advice of Leslie, Charles determined upon this step, crossed with the Scots army over the border, and, passing through Lancashire, encamped near Worcester. Cromwell was soon in hot pursuit, and, attacking the town on both sides, defeated the Scots in a desperate engagement, wherein they lost 6,000 men. Charles escaped from the field, and after a series of romantic adventures found his way to France.

The collapse of the Royalist cause was followed by a settlement of the quarrel between England and Scotland. By the skilful management of Vane, who directed the policy of the Commons, the terms of union of the two kingdoms, arranged by a convention of English and Scotch commissioners, were ratified by an Act which provided for the admission of Scotch representatives into the next Parliament. A similar scheme was proposed for a union with Ireland, and eventually carried into effect.

Owing to Vane's exertions, a navy had now been raised which, under the command of Robert Blake, cleared the sea of several Royalist vessels which, sheltered by the protection of Holland, had been attacking English merchantmen. The success of the Commonwealth speedily changed the tone of the Dutch, who now made overtures for an alliance; but the English people had never forgotten the Amboyna massacre, and were indisposed for friendly relations with the only nation which disputed their supremacy of the sea. Supported by the majority of the Commons, who passed a Navigation Act aimed at the "carrying trade" which was the mainstay of Dutch commerce, Vane fomented the jealousy between the two countries, until it broke out into war. A series of naval engagements ensued between May, 1652, and February, 1653, in which, though the Dutch were superior in numbers, and were commanded by their great Admiral, Van Tromp, Blake's fleet won the final prize of victory.

The refusal of the "Rump" Parliament to fulfil its repeated pledges to the army, that it would give place

to a new House of Commons representative of the nation, provoked Cromwell in April, 1653, to take the arbitrary step of dissolving it by force. It does not fall within our scope to trace the course of events which resulted in the establishment of a Protectorate, and vested in the hands of the great Parliamentary general a power not less absolute than had been wielded by the King whom he displaced. Such features of his government only require notice as were affected by its foreign relations. The consummation of the union with Scotland and Ireland was realised by the admission of Scotch and Irish representatives into the Parliament of 1654. The Scottish Highlands, which had hitherto lain outside the sphere of settled rule, were reduced into order by the firmness of General Monk and his successor, Deane; a chain of fortresses securing their future tranquillity. Though Presbyterianism was maintained, the General Assembly was suppressed, and protection given to other forms of Protestant worship. The government of Ireland, after Cromwell's departure in 1650, was conducted by Ireton, Ludlow, and Henry Cromwell, with a merciless rigour which the dictates of paramount necessity could alone have justified. After thousands of Royalists had been put to the sword, hundreds more transported as slaves to the West Indies, and large numbers of Catholics expatriated, with permission to enlist in the service of Spain or France, a settlement of the country was made upon the lines of the Plantation of Ulster under James I. The Catholic landowners who had been unfriendly to the Parliamentary cause, without actively

opposing it, were mulcted of a third of their estates. Those who had taken up arms against it were held to have forfeited all rights, but were allotted settlements among the native tribes in Connaught. Protestant settlers from England and Scotland replaced the evicted landowners. By this means, which temporarily restored order, but sowed the seeds of future discord, Ireland was brought into a condition that admitted of its union with England, and thirty seats in Parliament were assigned to its representatives.

In his English policy Cromwell was more faithful to the principles of toleration than he elsewhere showed himself. Although episcopacy had been suppressed, the rights of private patrons of livings were not disturbed, and ministers of divers opinions were appointed to vacant cures, subject to the approval of a Board of Triers that they were worthy of their sacred calling. The newly-founded sect of "Friends," or Quakers, which other Nonconformist bodies had persecuted, was protected under Cromwell's rule. A petition of the Jews for permission to return to England, whence they had been banished as a race since the fourteenth century, was referred by him to a commission of ministers and merchants. They reported upon it unfavourably, but it nevertheless received his tacit assent, and the Jewish settlements which thereupon sprang up in London and elsewhere were regarded as under his sanction.

His foreign policy was mainly dictated by his strong Protestant bias. Notwithstanding the English jealousy of Holland, and the animosity caused by the fluctuations of a protracted naval contest, Cromwell's endeavours to bring about amity between two

Protestant States ultimately succeeded. The political advantages of the treaty which was signed in 1654 were signal. Disheartened by the death of Van Tromp, and the failure of his successor, De Ruyter, to vanquish the fleet of England, the Dutch agreed to acknowledge its supremacy in the Channel, to submit to the Navigation Act, and to exclude from power the family of Orange, whose connexion with the exiled Stuarts made them dangerous to the Commonwealth. Friendly treaties were also made with Sweden and Denmark. With Spain, on the other hand,—which, though now rapidly falling into decay, still represented to the Puritans the hostile power of Romanism,—Cromwell waged war; despatching two expeditions in 1655, under Blake and Venables, one to intercept the American treasure-fleet and the other to attack St. Domingo. Though neither succeeded in its direct object, the second was rewarded by the conquest of Jamaica.

A treaty of alliance with France, then under the government of Cardinal Mazarin, which Cromwell made in October, 1655, was prompted by political necessity, but turned to account in the service of Protestantism. In 1656 the massacre, by the Duke of Savoy's orders, of his Protestant subjects in the Canton Vaud, excited passionate indignation in England, and Cromwell demanded redress. Had this been refused, he intended to declare war against Savoy, and subsidise the Swiss Protestant Cantons to take part in it; but the advice of Mazarin induced the Duke to yield. In April, 1657, Blake redeemed the failure of his previous expedition by an attack on the Spanish treasure-fleet, in the harbour

of Santa Cruz, which completely shattered it. The culminating triumph of Cromwell's foreign policy was the acquisition of Dunkirk, the importance of which he had long discerned. Stipulating for its surrender as the condition of his assisting France in her invasion of Spanish Flanders, he brought Mazarin to assent. In 1657 an English force took part in the campaign, and contributed to gain the battle of the Dunes, which effected the French conquest, and was followed by the allotment of Dunkirk as England's share of the spoil.

But the wisdom of Cromwell's rule at home and the splendour of his successes abroad failed to reconcile the nation to the submission of its free aspirations and divers interests to the standard of an inflexible will, which recognised the Puritan ideal of life as supreme and rested its title to obedience upon the power of the sword. The closing years of the Protectorate were marked by evidences that, with the exception of the military class which he represented, all parties were increasingly hostile to his authority and favourably inclined to a restoration of the monarchy. Disappointment at the failure of an aim which, though marred by personal ambition, there is reason to believe was essentially noble, embittered a temper naturally irritable and aggravated by infirm health. His collisions with Parliament led to repeated dissolutions. In August, 1658, on the eve of a new election, he was seized with mortal sickness, and died on the 3rd of September, after nominating his son Richard as his successor.

The instability of the new Protector's rule was

soon manifested by his impotence to control the discord which broke out between Parliament and the army. The desire to throw off the military yoke and return to the freedom of Parliamentary institutions was so generally expressed that the army was forced to yield. Dissensions among the officers completed its downfall. General Monk, who commanded the troops in Scotland, protested against the coercion which General Lambert, who commanded the English army, sought to put upon the Commons. Having summoned a Convention in Edinburgh, and obtained a reinforcement of men and supplies, he crossed the border, and raising the popular cry of "A free Parliament," marched to London in February, 1660. After an attempt of the army under Lambert to reassert its power, which resulted in defeat, the new Parliament met in April, and commenced to consider the terms upon which the exiled King might be restored. Their discussion had been forestalled by Monk, who was negotiating with Charles. A Declaration, dated from Breda, appeared in the King's name, promising a general pardon to all but those excepted by Parliament, religious toleration, and the satisfaction of the demands of the army. It was received with enthusiasm, and a vote passed by a large majority that the ancient constitution of the realm should be re-established. On the 25th of May Charles landed in England amid general signs of rejoicing. The army alone exhibited silent disapproval as the King passed through its ranks on his way to London, but proceeded to accept the national decision by quietly disbanding itself.

CHAPTER X.

Miscellaneous foreign influences from the accession of James I. to the Restoration.

ALTHOUGH the accession of James VI. of Scotland to the throne of England failed to bring about a political and legislative union of the kingdoms, it was attended by a considerable influx of Scotchmen into his new dominion, whose naturalisation as English subjects inaugurated the amalgamation of the two peoples which was eventually accomplished. If, as appears probable, the majority of the immigrants were Lowlanders of Saxon or Norman blood, they introduced no fresh racial element into the national organism, and such benefits as they conferred must be reckoned due to moral or intellectual qualities. Unfortunately, they seem to have mainly belonged to the class of all others least likely to be endowed with either. Such needy and rapacious courtiers as Hay (created Lord Carlisle) and Ramsay (created Lord Holderness) are only remembered in our annals for having abused the advantages which they enjoyed as royal favourites to acquire wealth and dignities at the expense of worthier Englishmen. The names of other Scottish families, such as Murray, Levingston, Fullarton, and Maxwell, occupy a disproportionate space in the list of grantees of the Crown lands during this reign. But there were Scotchmen of a wholly

different type, such as the statesman, Sir George Hume (created Lord Dunbar), and George Heriot, the goldsmith, by whose residence among them Englishmen might justly be honoured. Another step towards the gradual union of the two nations which followed the accession of James was the appointment of a Commission to maintain peace in the border districts, which had existed for centuries in a condition of chronic warfare. A signal act of this Commission was the wholesale deportation of the Græmes, one of the most lawless border clans, to Roscommon in Ireland, where a settlement was assigned to them.

The political effects which during this period were due to the influence of theological ideas derived from foreign sources have already been considered, but a word remains to be said upon their purely theological aspects. The ecclesiastical party of which Laud was the leader was actuated, as has been seen, by a desire to return to the Catholic unity which the Reformation had broken, and sought to raise the Anglican Church to equality with that of Rome by approaching to an assimilation of doctrine and ritual. In carrying out this aim they were constrained to ignore the predominantly Calvinistic tone of the Articles and Homilies, and forbid discussion by the parochial clergy of the doctrines characteristic of that system. A reaction against those doctrines, particularly that of absolute predestination, had long been agitating the Reformed Church of Holland, and from the name of its most eminent advocate, Hermensen, or Arminius, the anti-Calvinistic view was known as Arminianism. Its adoption by Laud and his followers

deepened the aversion with which they were regarded by the Puritan party in England, and, coupled with "Popery," Arminianism was conspicuous among the charges brought against them by the Parliamentary leaders in the struggle of 1628-9. The tendency of the political antagonism between the two great national parties which resulted in the Civil War was to increase their theological antagonism also, and, while the bulk of the adherents of the Parliament remained Calvinists, the supporters of "Church and King" became identified as Arminians. The Parliamentary ranks, however, were divided, as has been shown, by other theological dissensions. The Independents and Baptists were supported in their protest against the intolerance of the Presbyterians (who sought to enforce uniformity of Calvinistic worship) by a sect known as Erastians, from their adoption of the tenet of the German divine Erastus (1524-83), that the Church should be governed by the State in all matters relating to discipline. This theory, although substantially in harmony with the principle upon which the Reformation in England was based, was fatal to the pretensions of the Presbyterian system, and the importance of the issue at stake explains the passionate intensity with which the question of toleration was debated between the "New Model" and the Parliamentary majority of 1646-8. The Erastians formed a distinct group in the Westminster Assembly (*ante*, p. 210), including among their number the great jurist, Selden, and the learned Rabbinical scholar, Lightfoot. The occurrence of Erastus as a Christian name given to English children at this period, perhaps, implies that Erastianism had a fol-

lowing in the country, although the extent to which it prevailed is uncertain. The writings of the German theosophist, Jacob Böhme, or Behmen (1575-1624), became known in England during the reign of Charles I., and his disciples were sufficiently numerous under the Commonwealth to be reckoned as a sect. To the suggestiveness of his teaching was probably due the prevalence of a belief, held in common by several sectarian bodies, which sprang into existence during this period,—such as the Quakers, the Millenarians, and the Muggletonians,—that the human spirit may be the chosen recipient of divine illumination, and that its utterances under that influence are to be regarded as authoritative. It does not diminish the probability that Muggleton, at all events, was indebted to Böhme, to find that he violently denounced him as an ignorant and fallacious guide.

A smaller but not insignificant body of dissidents adopted anti-Trinitarian tenets, which, after their forcible extinction in Italy in the fifth century, were revived there at the time of the Reformation, and thence spread to Poland, where Lælius Socinus and his nephew, Faustus, became the founders of a considerable sect. From Poland the Socinians were driven, early in the seventeenth century, to Holland, where most of their writings were published. The chief English exponent of these opinions—which ranged between those taught by Arius in the fourth century and those held by modern Unitarians—was John Biddle. Their unpopularity and the severe penalties attaching to their propagation (which subjected Biddle to ceaseless persecution, and, even under the tolerant rule of Cromwell, to close imprisonment) prevented the sect

from making much visible progress, but it undoubtedly increased, and in the course of the century numbered such distinguished adherents as John Milton, Sir Isaac Newton, and John Locke.

The bulk of our debt to foreign sources during this, as in the preceding, period was incurred on behalf of literature and art. The obligations of our greatest dramatist to Italian and French sources for the raw material which he transfigured into artistic creations have been considered under the head of the Elizabethan stage, although the most fruitful years of his genius really fall within the reign of James I. The same indebtedness may be predicated of the chief members of the brilliant dramatic group of which he was the centre. Ben Jonson, whose claims to rank next to Shakespeare have been generally conceded, had a longer career of activity, surviving until 1637. The characters and scenery of his first comedy, "Every Man in his Humour," produced in 1596, were originally Italian, but two years later he changed them into English. The typical personages of his "Every Man out of his Humour" are for the most part characterised by Italian names—Carlo Buffone, Puntarvolo, Fungoso, Sordido, &c. "Cynthia's Revels," his next satire, was directed against the euphuism and pedantic formalism of the Court, which were mainly imitated from foreign fashions; its purpose being summed up in the opening lines of the Palinode :—

From Spanish shrugs, French faces, smirks, irpes, and all
affected humours,

Good Mercury, defend us !

The chief characters of "Volpone, or the Fox," brought out in 1605, are Italian, and the scene is laid in Venice. The comedy of "The Case is Altered," printed in 1609, is also Italian in its personages and scenery. The rest of Jonson's plays deal either with classical or English themes, but Italy furnished him with a congenial dramatic form in the Masque, which he handled with more freedom and variety than any of his contemporaries.

The twin-dramatists, Francis Beaumont and John Fletcher, whose careers belong wholly to the Jacobean era, were among the first to draw upon the newly-opened treasury of Spanish fiction. "The Knight of the Burning Pestle," produced in 1611, was a burlesque upon the extravagant chivalric romances then in vogue, its motive being obviously suggested by the "Don Quixote" of Cervantes, which appeared in 1605. The plot of their comedy of "The Little French Lawyer" was taken from "Guzman D'Alfarache," by Aleman, one of the most popular of Spanish novels. "Chances," another comedy, was taken from Cervantes's novel of "The Lady Cornelia"; "Love's Pilgrimage" from his "Two Damsels." "The Maid in the Mill" was partly borrowed from a romance of Gonzalo de Cespides, entitled "Gerardo," and partly from one of the Italian *novelle* of Bandello. "The Spanish Curate," "Rule a Wife and have a Wife," and "A Wife for a Month" may also be referred to Spanish sources. Two of the "Four Plays in One" and scenes in the tragi-comedy of "Women Pleased" were founded upon novels by Boccaccio, and "The Custom of the Country" owes part of its plot

to a novel by Malespini. A French romance by Daudiguier was the original of "The Lover's Progress." The exquisite pastoral play of "The Faithful Shepherdess," which proceeded from Fletcher's pen alone, belongs to the hybrid class of eclogue-drama, originally created by the Italians, and borrowed from them by the Spaniards, of which Tasso's "Aminta" and Guarini's "Pastor Fido" are the best-known examples.

Nineteen of the plays of Philip Massinger which now remain (little more than half the number that he wrote) may be referred to Italian, Spanish-Italian, or French sources, either historical or fictitious. Two or three of his lost plays, also, may be presumed from their titles to have dealt with Italian or Spanish-Italian subjects. The "Spanish Gipsy" and "A Game at Chess" of Thomas Middleton deal with Spanish types of character. The latter was a violent attack upon the Court of Spain which gave so much offence that its representation was suppressed.

The characters and scenes in four out of the ten plays of John Ford now extant, viz., "Annabella and Giovanni" (usually known by a coarser title), "Love's Sacrifice," "The Fancies Chaste and Noble," and "The Lady's Trial," are Italian, the plots being probably taken from *novelle*. His "Lover's Melancholy" contains a graceful paraphrase of the "Contention between a Musician and a Nightingale," by Strada, a contemporary Italian poet.

Thomas Heywood, another prolific dramatist of the day, appears to have been a diligent gleaner in the same fields. The main plot of his "Captives"

is taken from the "Mostellaria" of Plautus, its underplot from Masuccio's "Novellino." The underplot of his "Woman Killed with Kindness" has been traced to a tale by Illicini of Siena.

Of their fellow-dramatists, it must suffice to name John Webster, as especially indebted to Italian fiction. The plot of his masterpiece, "The Duchess of Malfi," is founded upon a novel by Bandello. To adopt the language of a competent critic in reference to this age of our literature, it may "without much hesitation be affirmed that far the greater number of our dramas are founded on Italian novels."¹ But the extent to which the Stuart dramatists were affected by foreign influences does not end here. It requires but a superficial acquaintance with the works of Jonson, for example, to see how steeped his mind was in the spirit of the Renaissance. "Volpone" alone would suffice to show how familiar was his acquaintance with the history, literature, proverbs, and colloquial speech, as well as the manners and customs, of Italy. Equally unmistakable in the works of Beaumont and Fletcher is the evidence of their intellectual and moral sympathy with the writers to whom they were so largely indebted. This has not escaped the critical discernment of Hallam,² who notes the "elevated sense of honour, friendship, fidelity, and love," which distinguishes "The Two Noble Kinsmen," as being characteristic of Fletcher,

¹ "Introduction to the Works of Ford," p. xxv. (Murray, 1831.)

² "Introduction to the Literature of Europe," vol. iii. pp. 321-338.

“who had drunk at the fountain of Castilian romance,” and the language attributed to Maximus, one of the characters in the tragedy of “Valentinian,” as framed in “the Spanish style of perverted honour.” In like manner, the “studiously-protracted indecency incorporated with” many of Fletcher’s plays, the choice of motives and situations designed to exhibit the working of lust and cruelty in their grossest forms, show but too clearly how completely he had assimilated the tone of his Italian models. Of Webster, again, it may be truly said that he “was as deeply tainted as his contemporaries with the savage taste of the Italian school.”

Of the allusions to England’s foreign relations to be found in the dramatic literature of this period, the most noteworthy are those contained in two plays of Massinger’s,—“Believe as You List,” produced in 1631, and “The Maid of Honour,” printed in 1632. In both, the dramatist, under cover of imaginary characters, reflects upon the cowardly desertion of the Elector-Palatine by Charles and his father, and satirises the policy which Weston had recommended to his master, of truckling to the power of Spain and maintaining a shameful peace, instead of actively supporting the Protestant cause in Germany.¹

Turning from dramatic to lyrical poetry, we find the delicate bloom and fragrance of the Italian Renaissance at its prime reproduced in the early poems of John Milton. The “Arcades” and “Comus” are finished examples of the lyrical and pastoral

¹ See Gardiner’s “Personal Government of Charles I.,” vol. i. pp. 243-247.

drama which Jonson and Fletcher had already handled with such success. "L'Allegro" and "Il Penseroso," although thoroughly national in tone and colouring, bespeak the influence under which they were composed by their Italian titles, which express the opposite moods that the poet intended to depict more significantly than any English equivalents.¹ His sonnets, though for the most part dealing with grave themes and charged with Puritan symyathies, are framed in strict accordance with their Petrarchian models. The elegy of "Lycidas" is perhaps the most perfect example in our poetry of the fusion of neo-classical culture with Christian sentiment. Refined without pedantry, it is animated by a fresh imaginative impulse, chastened by devout and tender feeling, and unstained by a trace of impurity. Wither was another Puritan poet who retained the influence of the same culture, and devoted his exquisite skill to the service of his highest convictions. Herrick, on the other hand, reflects with singular fidelity the strange contrasts which the Renaissance presents of delicacy and lewdness. No English lyrics are choicer in sentiment, music, or diction than some of his, while it would be difficult to match the grossness of others. Of the minor poets of this age, Carew and Lovelace may be named as exhibiting in a less marked degree the influence of the same scholarly refinement and grace of style. The verse of Crashaw manifests his sensibility to a dissimilar influence, also derived from Italy,—the half-mystical, half-sensuous devotion which

¹ See Morley's "First Sketch of English Literature," p. 553.

characterised the Catholic revival in the sixteenth century. The "Divine Emblems" of Francis Quarles imported into our literature that taste for quaint moral allegory which had long been popular on the Continent. The "Emblems" of Alciati, an Italian lawyer, who died in 1550, or the "Moral Emblems" of Jacob Cats, a Dutch statesman, contemporary with Quarles, was probably his model. Among translators of exotic poetry, it is enough to name George Chapman, who Englished the "Iliad" and "Odyssey" of Homer in vigorous and picturesque verse; Edward Fairfax, whose version of Tasso's "Gerusalemme Liberata" is perhaps the most graceful in our language; and Sir Richard Fanshawe, whose translations of the "Lusiad" of Camoens, the "Pastor Fido" of Guarini, and Mendoza's play of "Querer per solo Querer" were highly esteemed.

In prose fiction, Shelton's translation from an Italian version of the "Don Quixote" of Cervantes, published in 1612 and 1620, and Sir Thomas Urquhart's translation of the "Gargantua and Pantagruel" of Rabelais, published in 1653, were the most noteworthy contributions from foreign sources. The half-forgotten French romances of D'Urfé, Made-moiselle de Scuderi, and Calprenède were also translated during the period of the Commonwealth, and gave rise to a few wholly-forgotten imitations of them by English writers.

Foremost among the literary products of this period, regarded only as a monument of English scholarship, must be reckoned the Authorised translation of the Bible, published in 1611. Whatever

exceptions may be taken to it as often inadequately rendering the sense of the original text, the dignity, simplicity, and rhythmical music of its language remain unmatched, and would of themselves suffice to preserve it in reverence as a masterpiece of style, if the Revised version should eventually supersede it in use.

The greatest English prose writer of this period, Francis Bacon, Lord Verulam, is eminent rather on account of the new method of inductive reasoning which he introduced into philosophy and science than for any speculations or discoveries of his own. He was more concerned to demolish the fallacious structures of other builders than to make a better use of their materials. Even in this respect, however, his debt to Aristotle and the schoolmen whom he set himself to confute was necessarily large. In the "Advancement of Learning" and the "Novum Organum" he shows considerable acquaintance with the labours of his Continental contemporaries in the study of natural phenomena, speaking with admiration of "the wonderful exertions" of Galileo in inventing the telescope and the "noble discoveries" which had resulted from its employment, although rejecting the Copernican system of astronomy as false and disputing Galileo's explanation of the tides as based upon that unsound foundation. All Bacon's shortcomings and mistakes are condoned by the vastness of the scheme shadowed forth in these great works, which was no less than to make a complete survey of what the human mind had accomplished by means of its ancient instruments, and to demonstrate how,

by applying right modes of investigation, the yield of knowledge might be rendered incomparably richer. The ample extent of his attainments is evidenced by his frequent citations of ancient and modern authors in all departments of learning and the illustrations which he adduces from recent observations of Eastern and Western travellers.

Thomas Hobbes, who in youth was one of Bacon's secretaries, held even a lower estimate than his master of the metaphysics of Aristotle and the schoolmen, and his greatest work, the "Leviathan," a comprehensive treatise upon the grounds of knowledge and faith and the theory of political and ecclesiastical government, abounds in caustic references to their fallacies. His speculations appear to have been mainly original, but he was familiar with the writings of two prominent French thinkers of his time,—Gassendi, whose materialistic views he shared, and Descartes, whose idealism he controverted. He was acquainted also with the treatise of the Spanish Jesuit, Suarez, upon moral law, and with the theological works of Cardinal Bellarmin, the Italian Jesuit, to whose confutation he devotes a section of the "Leviathan." The classical attainments of Hobbes were remarkable even in this age of scholars. His earliest work was a translation of Thucydides, and one of his latest a metrical version of the "Iliad" and "Odyssey" of Homer.

Sir Kenelm Digby, a writer of considerable talent and learning, whose mind ranged over a wide field of speculation and study, showed in his principal work,—a treatise "Of Bodies and of Man's Soul,"

published in 1645,—that he had not only mastered the systems of Aristotle and other ancient thinkers, but was acquainted at first hand with the contributions to philosophy and science made by Descartes and Galileo.

Two other great prose writers, John Milton and Bishop Jeremy Taylor, only come within the scope of this retrospect in virtue of the classical learning which pervades their works. In the case of the former, it had a marked effect in moulding his style, which the latter happily escaped.

In special provinces of scholarship, which involved a thorough acquaintance with foreign as well as native sources of information, several English writers of this age honourably distinguished themselves, notably Richard Knolles, the historian of the Turkish empire; Sir Henry Savile, the translator of Tacitus and editor of St. Chrysostom; John Selden, author of a treatise upon natural or moral law, as expounded by the Hebrew jurists, and other works upon English law,—one of which, “*Mare Clausum*,” was an answer to the “*Mare Liberum*” of the Dutch jurist, Grotius; Sir Henry Spelman, the antiquary and glossarist; Bishop Andrewes, who, as an expert in the history of the Church and the writings of the Fathers, entered into controversy with the learned Jesuit, Bellarmine; William Chillingworth and Archbishop Usher, who carried on the same warfare with like weapons.

The laborious and recondite erudition of the Renaissance had its typical English representatives in two prose writers, both men of original power, Robert Burton and Sir Thomas Browne. The

"Anatomy of Melancholy," by which the former is remembered, is a treasury of curious learning, upon which many succeeding writers have drawn. The quaint observation which it displays redeems its excess of illustration, which would otherwise be tedious. Its sources include both classical and mediæval authors, to whose works the author had access in the libraries of the University of Oxford, where he spent his life. The "*Religio Medici*," "*Hydriotaphia*," and "*Pseudodoxia Epidemica*" of Browne are scarcely less erudite, and their style is so much Latinised as to be chargeable with pedantry, but they abound in eloquence of a high order. The "*Hydriotaphia*," an essay upon sepulchral urns, is based upon the "*De Funeribus Romanorum*" of Kirchmann, a German scholar.

The ranks of English scholarship received two notable additions from the Continent during the reign of James I., in the persons of Isaac Casaubon and Francis Junius. Casaubon, the most learned classicist of his age, was the son of French Protestants, who had settled at Geneva, where he was born. He spent the last four years of his life in England, where he obtained clerical preferment and a pension. His son Meric, who accompanied him, was also preferred to rank in the Church, and attained some celebrity as a champion of Protestantism. Junius, the son of a Dutch Protestant minister, was born at Heidelberg, and came over to England to be librarian to the Earl of Arundel, a post which he filled for more than thirty years. He devoted his attention to northern philology, and edited the

"Paraphrase" of our Saxon poet, Cædmon. Another foreign settler here, Samuel Hartlib, by birth a Pole, translated, in 1642, two Latin treatises upon the reform of schools, by Komensky, a Moravian pastor, that suggested the tract upon "Education" which Milton published in 1644, with an inscription to Hartlib. In the following year Hartlib edited a treatise upon "Flemish Agriculture," which is believed to have largely contributed to the improvement of that branch of industry in England. The name of another Continental scholar, Saumaise, or Salmasius, who was employed by Prince Charles in 1649 to write a "Defence" of Charles I., is memorable on account of the answer which he called forth from Milton, whose "Defence of the People of England" is among his most celebrated prose works.

The fine arts in this country received their greatest stimulus during the first half of the seventeenth century by the advent of several illustrious Continental painters in succession. Paul Van Somer, a native of Antwerp, came over a few years after the accession of James I., and remained here until his death in 1621. A large number of his masterly portraits are preserved in our public and private galleries. Cornelius Jansen, a native of Amsterdam, spent thirty years of his life here, from 1618 to 1648. His reputation as a portrait-painter was deservedly high, and he appears to have been in constant occupation until eclipsed by the fame of Vandyck. Daniel Mytens, another Dutch painter in the same walk of art, visited England during the reign of James I., and obtained the post of Court painter in the next reign.

Several of his works are in the palace of Hampton Court. His fame also declined soon after Vandyck's arrival, when he returned to the Hague.

Charles I., whose discriminating knowledge and judicious patronage of art have redeemed his memory as a man from the obloquy he incurred as a king, formed an extensive collection of valuable pictures, and invited the first contemporary artists of all schools to visit his court. Immediately after his attainder and execution, his collection was confiscated to the use of the State, and publicly sold. Many of its treasures were bought by foreign collectors, but a considerable number, including the cartoons of Raffaele and Mantegna's "Triumphs of Julius Cæsar," were retained at the instance of Cromwell, and others were subsequently recovered. Peter Paul Rubens, the greatest painter of his age, visited England upon a diplomatic mission a few years after the accession of Charles, who knighted him in recognition of his eminence, and embraced the opportunity to obtain several examples of his art. Many of his works in private collections were probably painted during this visit. The most illustrious scholar of Rubens, Anthony Vandyck, was invited over by the King in 1632; was soon afterwards knighted, and installed as chief Court painter; married the daughter of a Scottish peer, and remained here until his death in 1641. If his genius as a religious artist is better exemplified by the pictures which he painted abroad, his consummate skill in portraiture can nowhere be seen to greater advantage than in this country, which abounds in his

masterpieces. From his residence here and the inspiration of his works may be dated the real beginning of our native school of portraiture. His contemporaries, Dobson and Cooper, were his avowed imitators, and Highmore, Richardson, and Hudson carried on the tradition of his influence into the following century.

Among other Dutch painters of mark who visited England during this period may be mentioned Cornelius Polenburg, Henry Steenwyck, and Gerard Honthorst. Of contemporary Italian painters, several received invitations from Charles, but the only one of note who accepted was Horatio Gentilleschi, a skilful decorator of ceilings. Francis Cleyn, a German, who excelled as a designer of grotesques, and Jean Petitot, a famous French enamellist, also found constant occupation under Charles's patronage. Cleyn was one of the chief artists employed in designing patterns for tapestry, a manufactory of which was set up in the previous reign at Mortlake. John and Martin Droeshout, who appear to have been of Dutch extraction, were resident in London, and actively employed as engravers. The latter was the engraver of the "Chandos" portrait of Shakespeare. Wenceslaus Hollar, a native of Prague, the most eminent engraver of his age, was brought over to England in 1636 by Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel, a connoisseur of art, scarcely less accomplished than the King. Some of Hollar's best works were executed here, where he remained during the greater part of forty years. De Voerst and Vostermans, two Dutch engravers, and Lombart, a

Frenchman, were also in request as reproducers of the works of Vandyck.

In architecture, it is sufficient to name Inigo Jones as (with one exception) the greatest artist whom this country has produced. It is well known that he only discovered the special bent of his genius after visiting Rome and Venice, and the influence of the masters of the Renaissance, especially of Palladio, may be discerned in his finest designs. In sculpture, Gerard Johnson, the son of a native of Amsterdam who settled in England, has obtained celebrity as the artist of Shakespeare's bust in Stratford Church. Hubert le Sœur, a native of France, was the chief foreign artist employed by Charles I. The King's equestrian statue at Charing Cross is his best-known work. Nicholas Stone, a native sculptor, in high repute, acquired his skill abroad by a careful study of the antique and of the Italian masters who had caught its inspiration. Of workers in metal, Briot, a Frenchman; Van Vianen, a German; and Fanelli, an Italian, are recorded as enjoying a large share of royal patronage.

The famous collection of ancient statues, cameos, intaglios, inscriptions, and medals formed by the Earl of Arundel during this period contributed to mould the taste of his contemporaries in all branches of exotic culture. Music, as in the preceding age, continued to be our one art of native growth. Nicholas Lanière, an Italian by birth, appears to have been the only foreign musician of mark who was extensively patronised.

The certainty and brilliance of the discoveries in

physical science made during this period by Continental philosophers, to which Bacon was unhappily blind, were not overlooked by all his English contemporaries. The truth of the Copernican system of astronomy was advocated by Edward Wright, a mathematician and writer upon navigation, and by William Gilbert, a physician and author of a remarkable Latin treatise upon magnetism. These men, however, who flourished in the sixteenth rather than the seventeenth century, were far in advance of their time, and the system was still comparatively unknown to English thinkers in 1640, when John Wilkins published his "Discourse concerning a New Planet," which had for its object the vindication of Galileo, who three years before had been imprisoned by the Inquisition at Rome for promulgating the heretical doctrine that the earth is not the centre of the universe. A few years later witnessed a notable advance in the progress of science in England. A number of thoughtful men, who were saddened by the spectacle of political and religious discord during the Civil War, turned for consolation to the study of Nature, and were drawn into sympathy by the community of their pursuits. The origin of the Royal Society, which dates from the year 1645, was due to the association of these kindred spirits. Wilkins, Hartlib, Wallis, and Ward, the mathematicians; John Evelyn, the future author of "Sylva"; Christopher Wren, the greatest architect of the Restoration; Robert Boyle, the chemist, and Sir William Petty, the economist, were among its earliest members. Their range of research embraced (to quote the words of one of

the associates) all the branches of science which had "been much cultivated in Italy, France, Germany, and other parts abroad, as well as with us in England." Prominently in the list of subjects figure "the Copernican hypothesis" and "the Torricellian experiment in quicksilver." The extension of their acquaintance with the discoveries of Continental *savants* belongs to the consideration of the succeeding period.

The spirit of commercial enterprise which had characterised the age of Elizabeth continued to animate our countrymen during the seventeenth century. The East India Company made rapid strides towards the goal of wealth and power. By the exertions of a succession of intelligent and courageous agents it acquired trading privileges and permanent "factories," or commercial settlements, in several cities within the Indian dominions of the Mogul, in Persia, Japan, Java, Siam, Borneo, Sumatra, and the Spice Islands. Their fleets, commanded by able captains, achieved victories over the Spaniards and Portuguese which mastered their opposition; but the Company encountered more formidable competitors in the Dutch, whose hostility, at first concealed but afterwards avowed, seriously crippled its operations during the reigns of James I. and Charles I. In spite of this hindrance, which the weakness of these sovereigns allowed to harass it with impunity, the prosperity of the Company continued to grow, until the naval and commercial supremacy of the Dutch was ultimately checked, as has been seen, under the stronger rule of Cromwell. Other trading communities, notably

the Levant or Turkey Company and the Muscovy or Russian Company, successfully prosecuted their operations during the same period, the one absorbing a large share of traffic with the East, the other developing the fur trade and the whale fisheries of the northern seas. It must be left to imagination to calculate the extent to which this diversified activity of commercial energy contributed to increase and disseminate a knowledge of geography, botany, and natural history, and to enlarge the scope of our insular ideas concerning the world and its manifold varieties of race, language, poetry, creed, and custom. Of exotic products which were introduced into England during this period, and eventually brought into general use, cotton, potatoes, cane-sugar, coffee, and tobacco were the most important.

The enlightening influences due to the extension of commerce were further aided by the progress of colonisation, which became extremely rapid during the first half of the seventeenth century. The attempts to form settlements in North America, which had previously failed, were renewed under James I., who in 1606 granted charters to two Companies, organised with the object of planting all the coast between the 34th and 45th degrees of north latitude, comprehending what are now known as the States of Maryland, Virginia, North and South Carolina, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, New York, Massachusetts, and Connecticut. The aggressions upon civil liberty and the persecution of religious belief by which Charles I. and his ministers made England intolerable to a large number of high-minded and God-

fearing Puritans consolidated the polity which they founded across the Atlantic. Warmly attached to their country, but driven into exile for conscience' sake, they chose to form a new colony, under the protection of the national flag, rather than become naturalised in a foreign state. The development of a distinctively Puritan and Nonconformist community in New England was the fruit of this emigration. Though severed by distance from their co-religionists at home, the colonists preserved unbroken the ties of association and sympathy. An instance of the reacting influence which a section of the New England Independents were able to exert upon their brethren in the old country during the religious conflict that distracted the Long Parliament has already been noticed.

In 1632 the persecution of the English Catholics led to their forming another colony on the same continent, under the leadership of Lord Baltimore, who obtained a grant from the Crown of part of Virginia, and gave it, in honour of the Queen, the name of Maryland. At various times during the same reign, other settlements were made, under the authority of royal grants, upon the Bermudas or Somers' Islands, Acadia (subsequently called Nova Scotia), Barbadoes, St. Christopher's, Nevis, Antigua, and the Bahamas, and in what are now the States of Georgia, Tennessee, and Louisiana. The conquest of Jamaica under the Commonwealth completed the list of English gains beyond sea. The currents of intercommunication which gradually set in between the mother-country and her offshoots must have nsensibly drifted back to her shores a number of

exotic elements which now enter into our national composition. Among these may be mentioned the re-absorption from time to time of returned settlers, who had married women of Indian, Spanish, or negro blood, with their wives and families ; the importation of negro slaves as domestic servants ; the introduction of foreign habits and colloquial phrases ; and acquaintance with the worship, mythology, and traditions of many savage races.

Effects more directly traceable to foreign sources may be discerned in the improvements which took place in English agriculture during this epoch. The service rendered by Samuel Hartlib in making known the Flemish system was seconded by two other writers, Bligh and Weston, who recommended the cultivation of clover and turnips, which had long been grown in Flanders, as food for cattle and sheep. Early in the reign of Charles I. the draining of fen-lands and the reclamation of marshes from the sea by embanking were actively promoted by Lord Bedford and others, who obtained for that purpose the services of an eminent Dutch engineer, Sir Cornelius Vermuyden. The scheme of the " Bedford Level," by which a large portion of the eastern counties was converted from barren swamp into fertile tillage, is due to his skill. The culture of trees, flowers, fruits, and vegetables was stimulated by the efforts of John Evelyn, who resided for some years on the Continent during the Civil War, and had ample resources for the gratification of his favourite pursuits. His " French Gardener," which he speaks of in his " Diary " as the " first and best " treatise on

the growth of plants in pots, was published in 1658. His collection for a "winter garden" was made at Padua. The taste for landscape-gardening which he indulged at Wotton, and was active in diffusing, he probably acquired in Holland. The Dutch love of tulips, which amounted to a mania, was shared by the Parliamentary general, Lambert, who devoted his retirement to their culture. Charles I. was interested in the culture of new fruits, and gave orders a few days before his trial that the seeds of a Spanish variety of melon should be planted in his garden at Wimbledon. Hartlib, writing in 1650, refers to the sowing of cabbages, cauliflowers, turnips, carrots, parsnips, and peas as having been first made in Surrey within living memory, "all which at that time were great wonders, we having few or none in England but what came from Holland and Flanders."

In manufactures, the chief improvement that may be noticed was due to the arrival of a Dutch dyer, who set up an establishment in 1643, and introduced the method of obtaining the fine scarlet tint for which Continental cloths were celebrated. With the object of encouraging the manufacture of silk-stuffs and competing with the French craftsmen, James I. circulated instructions for rearing silkworms, and directed mulberry-trees to be extensively planted. Although checked by the growing importation of silken materials from India, this industry so far increased that a company of silk-throwsters was incorporated in 1629, and is stated, in an Act passed a year after the Restoration, to have employed 40,000 hands.

CHAPTER XI.

Foreign influences upon political history from the Restoration to the Revolution, 1660 to 1688.

THE Parliamentary discords and private intrigues which brought about the Restoration of the monarchy in the person of Charles II. were the salient symptoms of a general reaction against the attempt of Cromwell to establish his beneficent dictatorship by the aid of military power. The bulk of the English people still remained Puritans. They did not suddenly lose the love of civil liberty and religious moderation which drove them to rebel against Charles I. ; and their acquiescence in the restoration of his son was grounded upon a reasonable expectation that he would profit by the lessons of the war and its sequel. The immediate result of the Restoration, however, was to bring into prominence the ultra-Royalist party, which had shed its best blood for the cause of absolutism, had shared in its ruin, and suffered bitter indignities under the yoke of the victors. A transient indulgence of retaliation, now that it had gained the upper hand, was naturally to be expected. A similar reaction in the direction of irreligion and profligacy was consequent upon the excess of Puritan fanaticism, which had prescribed too rigid a devotional standard for all consciences alike, and prohibited innocent and vicious forms of entertainment as equally immoral.

Following the lead of a King whose scepticism of all religious belief was only tempered by a secret persuasion that the Romish communion, which he professed to abjure, was really possessed of the truth, and who habitually gave the rein to his passions without scruple or shame, the Court and the aristocratic circle round it became notorious for an avowed infidelity and licentiousness which were far from reflecting the temper of the nation at large. Side by side with these degrading tendencies, healthier forces were quietly at work, which gradually vindicated the triumph of all that the Reformation and Puritanism had won for English liberty.

Charles II., although born on English soil, was the son of foreign parents, and inherited the un-English traditions of absolute sovereignty that were ingrained in the minds of his father and grandfather. Veiled under the exterior of an indolent, pleasure-loving temperament, he cherished the determination to assert his prerogative and indulge his caprices without regard to the inclination or the welfare of his subjects. Though repeatedly baffled, and to all appearance ready to abandon any purpose which proved unpopular, he steadily pursued these ends. His policy, indeed, only differed from his father's in being irregularly instead of persistently despotic, and the one consideration which curbed his wilfulness was a wholesome fear of being driven (as he phrased it) to "set out on his travels again." Unable, as he soon found, to impose his will, even upon the Royalist party, beyond narrow limits, and checked by the constant necessity of applying to Parliament for money, he

resorted to the base expedient of appealing to external aid, and stooped to become the secret minion and pensioner of France.

The sinister influence which this subserviency exercised upon his domestic and foreign policy, and has left the record of his reign the most shameful in our history, can only be roughly indicated. We may pass lightly over the earlier annals of his rule, when its real aims were not detected, and he was allowed his own way. The dissolution of the union between the three kingdoms effected under the Commonwealth, the re-establishment of episcopal government in Scotland; the restoration of Protestant supremacy in Ireland; the retention in the royal service of a strong guard of cavalry and infantry, which was gradually increased to the dimensions of a standing army; the violation of his pledge to show mercy to the regicides and republicans, whereby fifteen were brought to the scaffold and twenty others disqualified for public office,—these and similar indications of his purpose, though not wholly unobserved, were submitted to without serious opposition.

In carrying out his policy, Charles was hampered by the consciousness that his most trusted ministers, with Hyde, now Lord Clarendon, at their head, were constitutional statesmen, who would not countenance his claim to absolute authority or any direct violation of the legal sanctions of liberty. As they represented the Protestant convictions of the bulk of the Royalists, his purpose of securing the fidelity of English Catholics, by granting them the ample toleration he had promised, in return for their loyalty during the Civil War

and their contributions during his exile, was baffled. Still more impracticable was his scheme of a reconciliation between the Churches of England and Rome, in the hope of effecting which he sent a secret embassy to the Pope two years after he came to the throne. A third project of profiting by the dissensions of Protestantism, and playing off Churchmen against Nonconformists, to their mutual discomfiture, promised greater success, but the time was not yet ripe for its execution. He saw no prospect of achieving his aim except by help from without.

The sources from which it could be obtained were few. With the United Provinces, which had sheltered him in exile and offered to renew their old alliance with England, together with the addition of a large subsidy, he could enter into no engagement, owing to the refusal of Parliament to repeal the Navigation Act, which crippled Dutch commerce. With Spain he could come to no terms, because she insisted upon the cession of the spoils of Cromwell's victory, Jamaica and Dunkirk. He resolved to apply to France, then the greatest of European States. Profiting by the decrepitude of Spain, by the exhaustion of the German empire after the Thirty Years' War and its continual struggle with the Turks, and by the comparative weakness of Holland and Sweden, it had grown under Richelieu and Mazarin into a solid, wealthy, and powerful government. Its army, since the accession of Louis XIV., had been increased to nearly half a million, and the strength of its navy now rivalled that of England. The ambition and cupidity of Louis himself, aided by the skill of his

statesmen and generals, had already deprived Spain of her old pre-eminence in Europe. The ruin of her empire, which he desired to accomplish, could only be obtained by depriving her of all allies, and England was the solitary European power whose neutrality had not been secured. Charles had, therefore, chosen a favourable moment for his application, which was readily conceded upon the basis of an understanding that England would tacitly acquiesce in the French schemes. The informal alliance of the two countries was sealed by the double marriage of Louis's brother, the Duke of Orleans, with Henrietta, the sister of Charles, and that of Charles himself with Catherine, daughter of the King of Portugal, a State whose recent revolt from Spain had deeply wounded her pride and crippled her resources. The acquisition with his bride of a large dowry in money and of two important stations,—Tangier in Africa and Bombay in India,—was a tangible gain that veiled from the English people the real motive of the marriage.

The Parliamentary "Convention," by whose vote Charles had been restored, which had been mainly composed of Presbyterians, was succeeded by a newly-elected Parliament wherein Royalists and Episcopalians largely preponderated. Its temper was soon shown by a resolution that the "League and Covenant" should be publicly burned, and its repeal of the Act which deprived the Bishops of their seats in the Upper House. At the instance of Clarendon, whose theory of constitutional government was to preserve a balance between the prerogatives of the Crown, the power of the Church, and the liberties

of Parliament, an Act was then passed which excluded from municipal office any one who refused to communicate according to the Anglican rite, to renounce the League and Covenant, and to affirm the unlawfulness of taking up arms against the King. In 1662, a Bill for uniformity in the Church was introduced, which extended similar tests to the clergy, disallowed orders not conferred by episcopal hands, and required consent to the entire contents of the Prayer-book and its exclusive use. The Bill was carried and received the assent of Charles, who hoped by subjecting the Dissenters to persecution to convince them of the necessity of tolerating the Catholics. On St. Bartholomew's Day (August 24), nearly 2,000 Nonconformist clergymen, including divines of such high eminence as Baxter and Howe, were ejected from their benefices. The immediate effect of this measure was to organise the forces of Dissent against the Government. Even Clarendon became apprehensive of an explosion of popular feeling, and concurred with Charles that it was advisable to obtain foreign aid. He accordingly assented to a disastrous bargain with Louis for the sale of Dunkirk, a station of vital importance to England, as securing her immunity from privateers in the Channel, and the loss of which was severely felt during the naval wars of the next century.

But the divergent aims of Charles and his chancellor soon led to a rupture between them, and a new instrument to carry out the royal scheme of masking despotism under colour of toleration was found in Ashley Cooper, Lord Ashley. Although

destitute of religious convictions, he attached himself to the Presbyterians from a persuasion that England could only maintain her liberties against the Crown and assert her influence in Europe by the principle which they represented. With this view he had opposed Clarendon's policy of persecution, and approved the King's proposals of reversing it. A proclamation issued in December, 1662, which promised to exempt from the penalties of the Test Act and the Act of Uniformity all Nonconformists whose tender consciences impelled them to "perform their devotions in their own way," was followed by a Bill to give the promise effect. But the measure was resisted by the Church party, and failed to win the approval of the bulk of the Nonconformists, who scrupled to accept an enfranchisement shared by their Catholic enemies. At the instance of Clarendon, Parliament threw out the Bill, pressed the King to withdraw his first proclamation, and issue another for the banishment of Catholic priests; and proceeded to pass the "Conventicle Act," which subjected to fine and imprisonment all persons above five in number who assembled for divine worship without using the Book of Common Prayer. These penalties inflicted cruel suffering upon the evicted clergy and their Nonconformist congregations throughout England.

The existence of domestic discord was fatal to the maintenance of a united front against foreign foes. The old jealousy of Holland, after temporarily subsiding, had been revived by England's acquisition of Bombay and the formation of a West Indian Company, which interfered with Dutch traffic in

African gold. Clarendon and the Church party, sensible that their repressive policy could not be maintained during a war, strove to control the irritation which the injuries inflicted upon English commerce by Dutch merchants continually provoked. Ashley and the Presbyterians, on the other hand, saw in the prospect of war and the taxation it would entail a chance of loosening Clarendon's hold upon public support. Coalescing with the Catholic party, they biassed the King and inflamed popular resentment for that purpose. Charles, though averse to applying to Parliament for money, was favourable to a policy which tended to unsettle the republican oligarchy in Holland, and restore his nephew, William of Orange, to that hereditary authority over its councils from which his family had been displaced. In the course of 1664, Parliament was thus persuaded to reject the advice of Clarendon, and declare war with the Dutch.

The first naval engagement between the two fleets off Lowestoft in 1665 ended in an English victory, but the struggle was prolonged with alternating success and defeat. Other causes intervened to aggravate the crisis. A terrible incursion of the plague decimated London during six months of 1665, and was followed in the next year by a calamitous fire, which destroyed the greater part of the city. Fresh political complications threatened to increase the cost of the war, which was already severely felt. Louis, whose scheme of crushing Spain by the conquest of her Flemish possessions was ripe for execution, was hampered by the proximity

of the conflict, and vainly offered at the outset to mediate between the combatants. When, after the engagement at Lowestoft, both sides applied to him for aid, he avowed himself constrained by ancient treaty-obligations to give it to the Dutch. His machinations defeated the attempt of Sir William Temple, the English minister in the Netherlands, to form a Spanish alliance. The Protestant States of Sweden and Brandenburg were alienated by similar intrigues, and the negotiations of French emissaries with the English republicans, the Scotch Presbyterians, and the Irish Catholics, raised a counter-agitation. Englishmen were easily roused to a revival of their old antagonism to France, and Parliament did not shrink from the prospect of war. But evidences of the internal dissensions which Clarendon's policy had promoted were soon manifest. The traditional sympathy of the Puritans with their co-religionists in Holland was not yet extinct, and the Republican Government, when alarmed by the endeavour of Charles to excite the Orange faction against it, threatened to land troops in England and stir up a Nonconformist revolt. The signs of disaffection only provoked the intolerance of the Church party to severer repression. By the "Five-Mile Act," passed in 1665, every ejected clergyman who refused to abjure the lawfulness of taking up arms against the Crown or of making "any alteration of government in Church or State," was prohibited from coming within five miles of the place where he had been a minister: the effect being to deprive the Nonconformist body of all religious instruction.

The exhausting drain of taxation which the war with Holland occasioned made it so difficult to obtain fresh supplies that the losses of the navy could not be repaired. Loyal as the Parliament was, it showed its mistrust of the King by appointing a Commission to inquire into his expenditure, and opposed his inclination to France by a plain avowal of hostility. Meanwhile, he was negotiating for peace through French mediation, and in May, 1667, a Congress met at Breda to consider the terms. The Dutch were also anxious for peace, but, aware of the crippled condition of the English navy, resolved to strike a blow which should paralyse opposition. In June, their fleet, under De Witt, suddenly appeared at the Nore, forced the barrier of the Medway, and sailed up the Thames to Gravesend, burning three men-of-war which lay at anchor, and returned to sail along the coast in triumph. The attack was so unexpected that neither the vessels nor the forts which protected the river were properly manned, and, although the Admiralty was quickly roused from its inaction, England's degradation was complete. While the most loyal servants of the Crown reflected with shame upon the dignity with which Cromwell had maintained the national honour, Charles only studied how to turn events to his own advantage. By the terms of peace concluded with Holland, each side retained its acquisitions. Parliament visited its indignation upon Clarendon, and in August, 1667, Charles seized the opportunity to dismiss him from office and banish him to France.

A coalition composed of three or four Presby-

terians, headed by Ashley, and two unavowed Catholics, Clifford and Arlington, constituted the new ministry, which was known as the Cabal, from the initial letters of their names. However disposed to further the King's will, they were constrained at the outset to abandon the French alliance. Louis took immediate advantage of the peace between England and Holland to execute his designs upon the Spanish Netherlands. Within three months Flanders and Franche Comté were invaded and occupied by a large army. The capture of the Flemish coast-towns and the appeal of the Dutch for aid impelled England to take active measures. Diplomatic overtures of alliance with Spain, France, and Holland separately were at first tried, but proved unavailing. In 1668, however, Sir William Temple concluded a triple alliance between England, Holland, and Sweden, which constrained Louis to make peace with Spain upon terms which he had himself proposed, without intending to fulfil them. By the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle he retained possession of southern Flanders and a line of fortifications which dominated the remainder of Spanish territory, but was foiled in a scheme of conquest which would have made him master of Europe. The principle involved in the Triple Alliance recognised the maintenance of that "balance of power" which has ever since been held essential to the foreign policy of England.

The new ministers of Charles substantially agreed with his plan of toleration, and among their first measures were the release of the imprisoned Non-conformists, the re-opening of conventicles, and

suspension of the Uniformity Act ; but beyond this point they would not venture. A general dread of Catholicism had been aroused by the signs of French aggressiveness, which made it dangerous to weaken any Protestant safeguards. In place of extending toleration to Catholics, they proposed a comprehensive union of English Protestants. It was approved by several moderate divines, but the King, to whose scheme it was fatal, rejoiced when the Houses rejected it. Hoping to obtain more support from a new House of Commons, the ministers urged the King to dissolve, but, apprehensive of being forced to abandon his reliance upon France and the Catholics for the recovery of his prerogative, he refused. An event which he had long foreseen, the conversion to the Romish Church of his brother and presumptive heir, James, Duke of York, impelled him to more decisive steps. Though as yet concealed, the Duke's conversion must soon be discovered, and occasion a demand from Churchmen and Nonconformists alike for his exclusion from the succession to the throne. To avoid a contest which might be ruinous to the dynasty, it seemed safer to precipitate the crisis. Charles threw himself accordingly into the arms of Louis, by offering to accept whatever terms he demanded for an offensive and defensive alliance, with the object of re-establishing Catholicism in England. Clifford and Arlington, the two Catholic members of the Cabal, were admitted into the secret of this negotiation in January, 1669. At a conference with them, in company with the Duke, and two other Catholic peers, Charles avowed his conversion to their

faith, and requested their advice how best to accomplish the end he desired. That Louis would insist upon England's withdrawing from the Triple Alliance was well known to the ministers who had been parties to it, and, in consenting to apply for his aid, they were accomplices in a perfidy which they concealed from their colleagues. After lengthy negotiations, a treaty was secretly contracted at Dover in May, 1670, between Charles and his sister, the Duchess of Orleans, who represented the French King. Charles thereby undertook to declare his conversion, to join Louis in attacking Holland by sea and land, and, should the King of Spain die without a son, to support the claim of France to the Spanish Netherlands. Louis, on his part, pledged himself to grant Charles a yearly subsidy of £1,000,000 sterling, to assist him with troops and money in case the announcement of his conversion led to a revolt, and if France succeeded in the conquest of Flanders, to compensate England by allowing it to seize Spanish America. To ensure the fidelity of Charles to this alliance, Louis despatched in the train of the Duchess an attractive and licentious woman, Louise de Querouaille, as his agent. She quickly acquired ascendancy over the other mistresses of Charles, was raised to the rank of Duchess of Portsmouth, and retained to the last a fascination over his will which she employed in the interest of her own country.

Ashley and the Presbyterian ministers were deluded by the preparation of a mock treaty, which merely provided that England should join France in a war with Holland. This virtual rupture of the Triple

Alliance was cloaked by the pretext that it did not violate the security of the Spanish Netherlands, to which alone the allies were pledged. A promise added by Charles that he would grant toleration to all but Catholics further recommended the treaty to Ashley's acceptance. Parliament had still to be cajoled by the demand of a subsidy for carrying out the provisions of the Triple Alliance. As soon as it was granted by the Commons, the session was adjourned.

In March, 1672, an attack upon a Dutch convoy by an English ship was followed by a declaration of war. The necessary supplies were obtained by arbitrarily suspending the payment of public loans. In fulfilment of his pledge, Charles at the same time published a Declaration of Indulgence, dispensing with the penal laws against Nonconformists, and according liberty of public worship to all but Catholics, who were restricted to private rites. The effect was to re-open scores of chapels whose ministers had been banished and set free hundreds of imprisoned Quakers and other dissidents. But the price paid for this freedom, which involved the ruin of England's oldest Protestant ally, was too costly to call forth the Nonconformists' gratitude.

The French campaign opened with the conquest and occupation of three of the United Provinces. The Dutch fleet, under De Ruyter, held its own against the English, under the Duke of York, in an engagement off the Suffolk coast. But the oligarchy which had ruled the Republic since the deposition of the house of Orange collapsed with the destruction

of its old safeguard, the French alliance, and John de Witt, its leader, was sacrificed to popular indignation. The national spirit, which was evoked to resist the insulting demands of Louis, found a fit representative in William, the young Prince of Orange, who was recalled to his hereditary Stadtholdership. In spite of infirm health, an ungenial disposition, and cold manners, his conspicuous sagacity and daring won the confidence of his countrymen, which was soon justified by his conduct of the war. From the spring of 1673 the current of French conquest was reversed, and though pitted against veteran generals and often baffled of victory, he succeeded in recovering one by one the provinces which France had seized.

The contest aroused the warm sympathy of Protestant Englishmen, and Charles, who had signalised his triumph by showering honours upon his ministers, found himself undeceived when the expenses of the war obliged him in 1673 to resort to Parliament for supplies. His policy excited a prevailing fear of the existence of a Catholic conspiracy. Catholic officers had been appointed to commands in the army sent against the Dutch ; the conversion of the Duke of York, who held the office of High Admiral, was more than suspected ; and the avowed Catholicism of Lady Castlemaine, one of the king's favourite mistresses, threw doubts upon his own belief. The mistrust of the Commons was shown by their refusal to grant the subsidy asked for until the Declaration of Indulgence had been withdrawn. This resistance was supported by what was now known as

the Country party, headed by Lords Russell and Cavendish, which, while favourable to the toleration of the Nonconformists, subordinated it to the obligation of preserving constitutional liberty. After exhausting his influence to escape the necessity, Charles consented to withdraw the Declaration. The Houses guarded against the recurrence of danger by passing a new Test Act, which imposed the oaths of allegiance and supremacy upon all military and civil officers, and prescribed that they should repudiate the mass, and take the sacrament according to Anglican rites. To this Act, which shattered his schemes at a blow, Charles was forced to assent, under a threat that the subsidy would be otherwise withheld.

The imposition of the tests required by the Act confirmed the worst fears of its authors. The Duke of York avowed himself a convert to the Church of Rome, and resigned the High Admiralship. His resignation was followed by that of Clifford, the Lord Treasurer, and hundreds of military and civil officers. The national confidence in the King, whose indolence and gaiety disarmed suspicion of his craft and perfidy, was thenceforth gone. Now that concealment was useless, Arlington revealed to Ashley (recently created Earl of Shaftesbury) the provisions of the treaty of Dover, and the most penetrating of living statesmen found that he had been a dupe and puppet in his master's hands. The discovery determined him to change his policy, to side with the feeling of the Commons, and put a stop to the war. Charles, however, was still resolved to carry it on, although

conscious of the isolated position in which he stood. The unsuccessful conduct of the campaign would alone have justified its unpopularity. The generalship of William had recovered for the Dutch their lost provinces, and his no less skilful diplomacy brought about an Austrian alliance against France. The English fleet had been long held at bay by the Dutch, and its forced retreat from the Channel after a drawn battle rendered it impossible for the army to effect the intended invasion of Holland. But Charles would not yield without an effort. Provoked by Shaftesbury's coalition with the Country party, and his instigation of an address protesting against the marriage of the Duke of York with a Catholic princess (Mary of Modena), Charles suddenly prorogued Parliament and dismissed the Chancellor from office.

After fomenting public alarm by reports of a Popish insurrection in London, the landing of a French army in Ireland, and a conspiracy to compass his own assassination, Shaftesbury concerted with the Country party a petition to the King, which was presented on the reassembling of the Houses, for the dismissal of "Popishly-affected" ministers. Bills were brought in to forbid Catholics from attending Court, and to exclude from the succession any prince of the blood who should marry a Catholic. Though Parliament threw out the "Protestant Securities" Bill, as this last measure was called, public feeling in favour of it was too strong to be disregarded. Tidings that the Dutch had secured a new ally in Spain, a contest with whom would be ruinous to English commerce, and a

threat by the Commons that supplies would be withheld, again forced Charles to yield. He consented to make peace with Holland and to dismiss Arlington and Buckingham, the ministers most obnoxious to the House. But his purpose was unchanged, and he had already devised a scheme of outwitting his opponents. He chose for his new minister Sir Thomas Osborne (whom he created Earl of Danby), a member of the old Cavalier party, who adhered to Clarendon's policy of preserving a balance between the Crown, the Church, and Parliament. The King's desire to secure the succession of James by devising due precautions to tranquillise Protestant fears commended itself to Danby's approval. The Duke's eldest daughter, Mary, who was presumptive heir to the throne, was accordingly confirmed as a Protestant. William of Orange came next in succession, and his popularity pointed him out as the most eligible husband for the Princess. Negotiations for their marriage were set on foot at the close of 1674. The Church was reassured by the enforcement of the Conventicle Act and the exclusion of Catholics from Court. When Parliament reassembled in 1675, it was conciliated by a pledge that the Test Act should be maintained. So bent, however, were the Commons upon opposing the King's inclination towards France, that Danby only succeeded by bribery in defeating a motion for the recall of the English troops in the service of Louis. At Shaftesbury's instance the House retained control of the supplies, which crippled the King's action. In despair, Charles turned to Louis for pecuniary aid, which would relieve him from dependence on Par-

liament. He was forced to take Danby into confidence upon this matter. A treaty had been prepared, whereby, in consideration of a yearly pension payable by Louis, the two monarchs undertook to assist each other in case of internal rebellion and to form alliances with no other States. As Danby pleaded for delay before assenting to such a compact, Charles settled the question by signing it alone.

When, after a protracted recess, Parliament re-assembled in February, 1677, an attempt made by Shaftesbury to force on its dissolution by reviving an obsolete statute was defeated by Danby, who prevailed upon the Lords to commit him to the Tower. But a Bill brought in to appease the Church on the subject of the Protestant succession was rejected by the Commons, and a lavish use of bribery was requisite to obtain a subsidy unchecked by any control over its expenditure. The nation was clamorous for war with France, and both Houses petitioned the King to join the great European Alliance which William had organised. Charles evaded the difficulty by demanding supplies, and when refused them prorogued Parliament for seven months longer, during which the treasury was replenished by a French subsidy. To quiet dissatisfaction, he revived the proposal of a marriage between Mary and William of Orange, which had not yet been seriously entertained by the parties concerned. The Prince was now anxious to agree to it, and came over to England in September, 1677, when the nuptials were celebrated. The prospect of a Protestant succession to James heartily gratified the country,

but the resentment which Louis showed at the match provoked a fresh outburst of warlike enthusiasm. The overtures of peace made by Charles were rejected by France, and the English ambassador was withdrawn from Paris. When Parliament met in 1678 it responded to the King's simulated hostility by a genuine utterance, and voted large supplies to support the army raised for the campaign. But the only intention of Charles was to turn these preparations to his own account. He deferred an actual declaration of war, and, while keeping up communications with the Allies, secretly agreed with Louis that, in consideration of a three years' pension, he would use his influence with them to accept the French terms of peace. Although an English force of 3,000 men actually landed at Ostend, he offered to recall it upon the promise of a further pension. Meantime, Louis, who shared with the Country party a common distrust of Charles, offered them pecuniary aid to thwart his plans, an offer which, to the dishonour of their righteous cause, they rashly accepted. Owing to these counter-intrigues, the stability of the Great Alliance was so much shaken by England's bad faith that Louis saw his opportunity of making better terms. One by one the Allies agreed to his demands, and by the peace of Nimeguen, signed in 1678, Louis obtained from Spain the cession of Franche Comté and twelve fortresses in Flanders, and made a favourable exchange of territory with the Empire. Holland, thanks to the vigorous conduct of the war by William of Orange, regained its losses, and acquired fresh commercial

advantages, but the substantial effect of the Peace was to vest the supremacy of Europe in the hands of France. While England reaped nothing but a memory of shame, Charles found himself possessed of an army of 20,000 men and a French subsidy of nearly 1,000,000 sterling.

The hopes of the conversion of the three kingdoms to the Romish faith, which the Catholics had built upon the French alliance and the King's pledges of toleration, although now blighted, had inspired them with so much confidence as to excite a Protestant panic, which was slow to subside. An adventurer, named Titus Oates, availed himself of it to gain notoriety by producing garbled extracts from private letters before a London magistrate upon oath, as evidence of a Popish plot to assassinate Charles and set his brother on the throne. Confirmatory evidence was found in the correspondence of a Jesuit, named Coleman, which had been seized, and disclosed an intrigue between Louis and several members of Parliament to defeat Danby's measures of repression. The revelation was turned to account by Shaftesbury, now released from prison, who headed the popular movement. The assassination at this juncture of the magistrate before whom Oates had made his affidavit added fuel to the flame. Parliament appointed a committee of inquiry, whose report impeached five Catholic peers in the plot. They, with 2,000 suspected persons, were imprisoned, all Catholics were ordered to leave London, and a Bill to exclude them from a seat in Parliament passed both Houses. Fresh falsehoods, concocted by other

impostors and improved upon by Oates, implicated the Queen in the plot to assassinate the King, and excited apprehensions of the landing of a Catholic army and a Protestant massacre. The impeachment of the five peers under arrest was directed by Parliament. Coleman and some of his alleged accomplices were tried and executed. The discovery of a real plot dispelled any doubt from the minds of the Protestant majority that they had solid grounds for suspicion. In revenge for Danby's hostility Louis brought about his fall. After negotiating with Shaftesbury and the leaders of the Country party, and securing by bribery a larger number of votes than Danby had forestalled, Louis authorised Montagu, late English ambassador at Paris, who had returned home after a dispute with Danby, to lay before Parliament a despatch which the latter had signed, applying for the subsidy due to Charles for his good offices with the Allies. Astounded by this confirmation of its fears that the national honour had been sacrificed, the House immediately impeached Danby for high treason, but Charles, dreading the further revelations which a trial would involve, dissolved Parliament in January, 1679.

Though wholesale bribery was resorted to during its election, the new House of Commons largely reflected the genuine feeling of the country. The King attempted conciliation; but it was bent upon Danby's punishment, and a bill of attainder having passed the Lords, he was committed to the Tower. The ministry which succeeded to power included Shaftesbury, the leaders of the Country party, and

Sir William Temple, who was recalled from the Hague. It effected some valuable domestic reforms, but the question of the Duke of York's exclusion from the succession, upon which the Lower House, backed by the city of London, continued to insist, divided the ministerial councils, and induced Charles to resort to his favourite tactics of delay by again dissolving Parliament. Diverging from the leaders of the Country party, who desired to transfer the succession from the Duke of York to his daughter and her husband, Shaftesbury selected as a preferable candidate the young Duke of Monmouth, eldest of the King's natural children, but commonly believed to have been born in wedlock. Though of weak character and loose life, the youth was popular on account of his personal attractions and reputed courage. After having quelled a formidable revolution of the Covenanters in Scotland, brought about by the persecution of Lauderdale and Archbishop Sharp (whom they murdered in revenge), he had been appointed Captain-general of the forces. These qualifications commended him as a serviceable instrument for Shaftesbury's designs, but the course of events frustrated their immediate execution. The sudden illness of the King called the Duke of York back to England, and a dispute arose between him and his nephew, which Charles, upon recovering, could only settle by sending both into exile. Shaftesbury attempted to force a change of policy, by fanning the Protestant alarm, prosecuting the victims of the Popish plot, and terrorising the Catholics by espionage; but Charles, observing

the divisions in the Council which weakened its strength, took occasion to dismiss him from the Presidency in October, 1679.

To avoid the necessity of summoning Parliament, the King secretly negotiated with Louis for a fresh subsidy; but his services to France not being required at the moment, such distasteful conditions were attached to the bargain that he could not close it. The effects of the recent panic were shown in the return of a more Protestant House of Commons than the last, but Charles delayed the session for a year longer. Monmouth returned to England, and Shaftesbury conducted an active agitation in support of his claim to the succession. Petitions for the assembling of Parliament were obtained from every county, discoveries were announced of new Catholic conspiracies, and street-processions organised to burn the Pope in effigy. But this violence provoked a reaction, which Charles was quick to discern. Public credulity was becoming exhausted, and, in spite of the perjuries of Oates and his fellow-informers, several Catholic prisoners were acquitted. The adherents of the Crown presented counter-addresses, declaring their abhorrence of the designs of its enemies. The growth of the two political factions which thenceforth divided the country sprang out of this agitation; the names of Whig and Tory originating in terms of obloquy exchanged between the loyalists and the Country party. Charles was encouraged to recall his brother to Court, and accept the resignation of Lord Russell and other members of the Council who supported

Shaftesbury. The Earl, on his part, showed no irresolution. By his advice, Monmouth made a progress through England in the character of a Protestant champion, and won much popularity. When Parliament met in October, 1680, an Exclusion Bill passed the Lower House without opposition, and it was only by the King's personal solicitation that the Lords rejected it in favour of a fresh project of Protestant securities.

But at this juncture Charles was unexpectedly aided by the Prince of Orange, who felt that without the co-operation of England the European Alliance would be powerless against France. Such co-operation Charles now avowed his willingness to lend; and actually protested against the fresh encroachments of Louis in Germany, besides negotiating for the concert of Spain and Brandenburg. Shaftesbury's project of excluding the Duke of York's children, as well as himself, from the succession, was fatal to the hope which William entertained of one day governing England in right of Mary and wielding its power against France. The only course open to him, therefore, was to espouse the cause of his father-in-law. His chief adherent and spokesman in the House of Lords, Savile, Lord Halifax, accordingly came forward with a new Bill of Securities. Shaftesbury, however, persuaded the Commons to reject it, and proceeded to inflame the Protestant frenzy, which found another victim in Lord Stafford, one of the arrested Catholic peers, who was brought to trial and executed. The withholding of supplies at last so incensed Charles that he once more dissolved Parliament.

The new House, which met in March, 1681, proved as hostile to his policy as its predecessors had been, and the temper of both parties became dangerously excited. Monmouth's progress was resumed, and addresses of welcome greeted him at every stage. Riots in London were ominous of revolution, and the King was thrown back upon his old resource of appealing to Louis for help. Faithless to his pledges to William, he promised to withdraw from the European Alliance and remain at peace with France in consideration of a yearly subsidy. The terms of this bargain enabled him to take a resolute tone, which was strengthened by the disunion and violence of his opponents. The ranks of the Country party were disorganised by a futile attempt of Shaftesbury to obtain Monmouth's recognition as his father's successor and by an impracticable Bill of Limitation introduced by Halifax in the interest of William. As soon as the Exclusion Bill was revived, Charles, seeing signs of a reaction in his favour, dissolved Parliament and appealed to the loyalty of the country.

His Declaration called forth expressions of unshaken attachment from the Church and the two Universities, which were strongholds of the Tory party; while the Whigs put forward a "Defence of the late Parliament" that implicitly charged him with intending to subvert the constitution. Charles retaliated by indicting Shaftesbury for having fomented insurrection and suborned witnesses to the Popish plot. Dryden's masterly satire of "Absalom and Achitophel," which was published at this crisis,

reflected the conviction of the loyalists that the King's boldness had averted another civil war. He was not yet master of the situation, for the grand jury of Middlesex threw out the indictment, and the Earl's release was joyfully celebrated by his adherents. London continued so hostile to the Court that a design of abrogating its chartered liberties was thenceforth contemplated. But the tide of reaction had set in. Strong in the support of Louis, Charles could dispense with Parliamentary supplies, and evaded the renewal of his pledges to William, who visited England with the hope of winning him back to the Alliance. Louis, on his part, secure of England's inaction, continued his aggressions upon the frontiers of Germany and Holland, while he crushed disaffection at home by a fresh persecution of the Huguenots. As if in imitation of this policy, Charles gratified the Church party by enforcing the penal statutes against the Nonconformists. James, who had been conducting a similar crusade against the Covenanters in Scotland, was recalled to Court, and Monmouth's progresses through England were stopped by his arrest. By the aid of an obsequious Lord Mayor of London, who nominated Tory sheriffs, the Court contrived to secure verdicts from packed juries upon indictments for treason. This adroit conquest of the great Whig stronghold drove Shaftesbury to desperate courses. He planned a conspiracy, wherein Monmouth, Lord Russell, and other disaffected peers were to take part, but their reluctance or delay in executing his plans drove him to take flight to Holland in November, 1682,

where he soon afterwards died. The Whig leaders, still hoping to check the King's course, held meetings with the view of forcing him to summon Parliament, but were compromised by some of their less scrupulous adherents, who concocted a plot for assassinating Charles and his brother, near the Rye House, on their way to Newmarket. Seizing the opportunity of crushing his opponents at once, the King issued a proclamation for their apprehension. Monmouth escaped to Holland, but Lords Russell and Essex, Algernon Sidney, and others were arrested and brought to trial. Essex committed suicide in the Tower; Russell and Sidney were condemned and beheaded. Their execution was followed by similar severities in Scotland, where several persons of distinction were alleged to be implicated in the conspiracy. The triumph of absolutism was, for the moment, complete.

Though London and many parts of the country remained faithful to liberty, the loyalty which Charles had evoked found expression in extravagant declarations; the University of Oxford even proclaiming "passive obedience" to the sovereign as a religious duty. The King was too astute to venture upon a purely despotic rule, and directed his efforts to disarm opposition without exciting suspicion. Disregarding the advice of Halifax and Danby (whom he released from the Tower) to summon a new Parliament, he depended for a revenue during the rest of his reign upon the customs and the French subsidy. In view of the eventual necessity of applying to Parliament, he made preparations for controlling its

activity. The corporations, in whom the borough representation was virtually vested, and whose sympathies were predominantly Whig, were attacked by informations of "Quo warranto" for the abuse of their franchises. Judgments having been obtained against a few of them, the others were terrified into submission. New charters were then granted, whereby ultra-loyalists were appointed to the municipal offices. To provide against the risk of popular disaffection, the forces at the disposal of the Crown were largely augmented, and a reserve of six regiments retained in the service of Holland.

This skilfully-planned conspiracy against national liberty was thwarted by the fatal illness of Charles, in February, 1685. Just before his death the reconciliation with the Catholic communion, which he had so long deferred, was secretly effected by the introduction of a priest into his bed-chamber, who, excluding all Protestant bystanders, took his confession and gave him the last sacrament. But that his mask of Anglicanism might still deceive the bishops and nobles in attendance, they were immediately recalled, and he received absolution from the hands of Bishop Ken.

The accession of the Duke of York as James II. was unopposed. Though known to be a rigid Catholic, his public assurance that he would preserve the established government in Church and State was accepted as "the word of a king," and so little were his real designs suspected that he was actually supposed to be sensitive to the national honour, and incapable of his brother's subservience to France.

He was, in truth, as wedded as any of the Stuarts to a belief in his divine right, and as determined to maintain the prerogative of the Crown at all risks. He only differed from his predecessors in having a duller intellect and a more bigoted attachment to dogmas which derived their sanction from a foreign source and were rejected by the majority of his subjects. Conscious that his twofold object of restraining Parliamentary liberty and establishing Catholic supremacy could only be attained by French aid, he was not less eager than Charles to be the minion of Louis. Though some uneasiness was excited by his throwing open to the public the chapel in which he had privately heard mass and his selecting Catholics for military posts, the new Parliament which he summoned reflected the national confidence in disregarding these significant indications. Without insisting upon any religious securities, it granted him a revenue of £2,000,000 for life.

A fresh stimulus was soon given to the loyal sentiment which (except in certain Whig strongholds) animated the country at large by the landing of the Earl of Argyle in Scotland and of Monmouth in Dorsetshire, each at the head of a small force. The Earl, who had taken refuge in Holland from a sentence of death recorded against him in 1682, upon an unfounded charge of treason, was an ardent Protestant, and when Monmouth, the avowed champion of the same cause, joined him in exile, they concerted a scheme of simultaneously rallying all opponents of Catholic rule. Though joined by his clansmen, Argyle failed to muster other adherents, and his force

was weakened by divided counsels. It was quickly dispersed, and he himself captured and sent to the block. Monmouth was warmly welcomed in the western counties, where the Whigs and Nonconformists were numerous, and soon mustered a force of 6,000 men ; but his assumption of the kingly title alienated many supporters, and his cause was repudiated by all who were favourable to the claims of Mary and William. Both Houses declared their fidelity to the King, and passed a bill of attainder against Monmouth. The royal guards and local militia were quickly in the field, and, under the conduct of Lord Churchill (the future Marlborough), put the Duke's army to utter rout upon the plain of Sedgemoor. He fled, but was captured in disguise, and shared the fate of Argyle. A merciless vengeance was inflicted upon his adherents by the instrumentality of Chief Justice Jeffreys, during a "bloody circuit" of the western counties. His cruelty gained the King's cordial approval and the Great Seal for a reward.

James took advantage of the rebellion to raise his standing army to 20,000 men, who were manifestly intended for home service, as he made no secret of his aversion to the European Alliance against France. Only a week after his accession he assured the French ambassador that he counted upon the protection of Louis, and would take no step without consulting him. The promise of a subsidy, which rewarded this servility, was acknowledged with profuse gratitude. Sunderland, the minister in whom James put most confidence, undertook to break off the

friendly relations with Holland and Spain which the Parliament desired to maintain, and William was refused permission to visit England. The eyes of the nation were soon open to the danger which these symptoms portended. In October, 1685, the Edict of Nantes, which for a century had secured toleration and liberty of worship to the Huguenots of France, was suddenly revoked by Louis, and a systematic persecution set on foot. Their churches were demolished, their schools closed, their pastors banished, under pain of being sent to the galleys ; parents were prohibited from teaching their children, and ordered to have them baptised as Catholics ; while those who attempted to leave France were sentenced, if men, to the galleys, and, if women, to imprisonment for life ; their property being confiscated. Notwithstanding the relentless execution of these edicts and the enforced apostasy of many thousands of terrified Huguenots, nearly half a million made their escape, a large proportion of whom (estimated¹ as upwards of 120,000) took refuge on our shores. The unconcealed satisfaction shown by James when tidings of the persecution reached England increased the indignation and horror with which his subjects regarded it. At the reassembling of Parliament, exception was taken to his appointments of Catholic officers, as an unconstitutional exercise of the "dispensing power." His haughty declaration that their legality must not be questioned and his demand for supplies to his new regiments provoked resistance. Obsequious as they

¹ Smiles, "The Huguenots in England," &c., p. 242.

had hitherto been, the Commons by a bare majority resolved to postpone compliance with this demand until the grievance complained of had been redressed. In the Lords, Halifax, who had been dismissed from the Privy Council for refusing assent to a repeal of the Test Act, and Compton, Bishop of London, headed the opposition to the King's violation of its provisions. Their proposal, that all existing and future appointments should be confirmed by Parliamentary sanction, was rejected by James, who forthwith prorogued the Houses.

The question of his right to dispense with penal laws he submitted to the decision of the Judges, having first secured its being given in his favour by dismissing four who had the courage to assert their independence. Having obtained an affirmative decree in June, 1686, he proceeded to act upon it to an extent which aroused general alarm. Catholics were appointed in large numbers to civil as well as military offices, four peers being admitted to the Privy Council. Monks, wearing the robes of their several orders, were permitted to walk through the streets. A splendid chapel was fitted up in St. James's Palace, and a Jesuit school founded in the Savoy. A riot in the city at the opening of a new chapel afforded a pretext for forming a camp of 13,000 men at Hounslow. In Scotland, a violent change was made in the civil government by vesting it in two Catholic perverts, while a third was appointed to the command of Edinburgh Castle. The Scottish Parliament having rejected an Act for the toleration of Catholics, the Judges were directed to treat the penal statutes against

them as void, a mandate which none dared disobey. In Ireland, Lord Tyrconnell, a Catholic, was placed at the head of the army, which he remodelled by enlisting 2,000 of his co-religionists, and dismissing the Protestant officers. Civil offices were thrown open to Catholics, and they took their seats in the Council.

To silence opposition by the Church, James had already ordered the clergy to abstain from pulpit-attacks upon Catholicism, and instructed the Bishops to enforce the prohibition. This order they had not obeyed, and the controversial sermons which the metropolitan clergy persisted in delivering testified to the alarm which he had aroused. One such sermon, by the rector of St. Giles, so offended the King that he desired Bishop Compton to suspend him. Compton's reply, that he was only able to deal with the case when submitted to him judicially, determined James to revive the Court of High Commission (which the Long Parliament had abolished, and the first Restoration Parliament pronounced illegal), and to put at its head the Lord Chancellor Jeffreys. Its earliest act was to suspend Bishop Compton from his functions. Undaunted by the blow, the clergy continued to discuss the questions in dispute between Protestants and Catholics, both in the pulpit and in the press, which swarmed with their pamphlets.

Even the Catholic party became uneasy at these signs of resistance, and the Papal nuncio (whom, in defiance of the law which cancelled all relations with Rome, James had received in state at Windsor)

advised a more moderate course. The King's infatuation was proof against remonstrances. Aware that his staunchest Tory and High Church adherents would not support his acts, and suspicious of their secret hostility, he dismissed from their offices several who refused to apostatise, including his first wife's brothers, Lords Clarendon and Rochester, and supplanted them by Catholics. The refusal of other officials to assent to the repeal of the Test Act was also punished by dismissal. In April, 1687, he published a Declaration of Indulgence, suspending the penalties imposed by that Act, among others, upon both Nonconformists and Catholics, and removing their disabilities for office. His expectation that this measure would be sanctioned by Parliament, and ensure him the adherence of all religious dissidents, was not realised. Notwithstanding the grateful acknowledgments of a section of the Nonconformists, the majority refused to accept an illegal emancipation. Parliament proving equally hostile to his plans, he dissolved it in July, and writs were issued for a new election. The Lord-lieutenants of each county were instructed to restrict the choice of borough candidates to such as would pledge themselves to the repeal of the Test Act, and sound the magistrates respecting their intentions to vote, those who refused to comply being dismissed. But these devices to coerce the corporations and the magistrates into submission had at last to be abandoned as impracticable.

Baffled in his hope of obtaining a subservient House of Commons, James turned to the task of controlling the Universities, as the chief Protestant

seminaries of the clergy and gentry. At Oxford, a Roman Catholic was appointed Dean of Christchurch, a recent convert permitted to retain the Mastership of University College, and a third nominated to that of Magdalen. When the Fellows declined to accept the Crown's nominee, and chose a President from their own body, the Ecclesiastical Commission declared the election void. Upon the refusal of the Fellows to accept a second nominee, special commissioners were despatched, who forcibly installed him, and replaced the Fellows by Roman Catholics. A similar attack was directed against Cambridge, its Vice-Chancellor being expelled for withholding a master's degree from a monk, nominated by the Crown, who refused to sign the articles.

The evident determination of his subjects to resist the repeal of the Test Act, and the fear that, even if he succeeded in carrying it, the victory would be reversed at his death, at last drove James to solicit the intervention of his son-in-law. William had been watching with painful interest the increasing divergence of the royal policy from the course which he desired. Exasperated by the repeated encroachments of Louis upon their territory, the German princes bound themselves by a treaty at Augsburg, in 1686, to withstand any fresh aggression by force. For the success of a European coalition against France, the help of England was requisite. But since his failure to persuade James to join the Grand Alliance, William had held aloof from English affairs, refusing either to countenance an absolutist scheme of toleration which might be fatal to Protestantism or a resistance to it

which might be fatal to liberty. Many cautiously-worded communications from representatives of various parties in England arrived at the same time as the King's request for his intervention, assuring him of their sympathy, and warning him against a measure which would strengthen the Catholic cause and imperil Mary's succession. He accordingly informed James that he was unable to comply with his wish. This refusal determined the King upon making a fresh effort for Parliamentary support. He hoped that the Queen might soon give birth to a son, who would frustrate Mary's succession; and to ensure the education of this heir as a Catholic in the event of his own death, it was necessary to surround the throne with Catholic ministers, whose offices could only be secured by a repeal of the Test Act. Postponing until November the election which had been fixed for February, 1688, he published in April a further Declaration of Indulgence, appealing to the nation on behalf of liberty of conscience. The Declaration was ordered to be read in every parish church on two successive Sundays, but the clergy, headed by the Bishops, refused as a body to read it. Sancroft, the Primate, and six other Bishops addressed a protest to the King against its illegality. Indignant at their presumption, he instructed the Ecclesiastical Commissioners to suspend them, but was persuaded by Jeffreys to try the safer course of prosecution. They were accordingly committed to the Tower upon a charge of libel. Sympathising crowds attended them on the way, and the sentinels knelt for their blessing at the prison gates. When they were brought to trial

on June 29, even the subservient Judges and a jury chosen by the Crown dared not brave the storm of public feeling. The acquittal of the Bishops was hailed with tumultuous rejoicing, which resounded through the country, and was echoed in the King's hearing by his soldiers at Hounslow.

His obstinacy remained unshaken by the signs of disaffection which alarmed his stoutest adherents. Persisting in his plan of terrorism, he dismissed the Judges who had inclined to the side of the Bishops, and directed the names of the clergy who refused to read the Declaration to be reported to the Commissioners. The camp at Hounslow was broken up, the place of the disaffected troops being filled by Irish recruits. Against this last step the Catholic peers who were members of the Council vainly remonstrated. The recruits soon became the subject of a satirical ballad with the burden of "Lillibullero," which was sung through the length and breadth of England, and several officers surrendered their commissions to escape the duty of enrolling them. Popular irritation was further inflamed by the announcement of the Queen's delivery of a son, which occurred a few days before the trial of the Bishops. In spite of accumulated proofs that the birth had really taken place, it was generally discredited. Whether genuine or fabricated, the announcement precipitated the crisis which had long been imminent.

Ten days afterwards an invitation was addressed to William by Lords Devonshire and Danby, Bishop Compton, and other leading men, both Whigs and

Tories, that he should take up arms for the protection of English liberties and the Protestant faith. It was impossible for him to refuse to head a movement upon the issue of which the interests of his wife and the success of his most cherished schemes depended. James had by this time irrevocably sided with Louis against the Allies. In concert with Sweden, he had recently threatened the Dutch, recalled the English and Scotch troops in their service, and accepted a subsidy from Louis for fitting out a fleet to attack their coasts. If victorious over his own subjects, the weight of England would be thrown into the French scale as soon as the great European conflict commenced. If, on the other hand, William declined the proffered leadership, and the rebels triumphed without his aid, they might justly resent his desertion by passing over Mary's claim to the crown and reverting to the Commonwealth. Upon all these grounds he decided to accept the offer. Having persuaded the political faction opposed to him in the government of Holland that an alliance of France and England would overwhelm the State, he gained their consent to the muster of a military and naval armament for its defence, and then obtained a promise from Brandenburg that it would send 9,000 men to replace the Dutch troops required for the expedition. Upon the receipt of William's affirmative answer and the news of his warlike preparations, several of the great Whig and Tory nobles came or sent over representatives to the Hague in token of their adherence; while others who remained at home organised the rising upon which he counted for

support. The vengeance which James had brought upon his own head was so plainly about to fall, that Sunderland, who had intimation of these designs, betrayed him, and to escape punishment for complicity in his master's misdeeds, purchased William's forgiveness by a voluntary disclosure of State secrets.

James was still blind to the consequences of his folly, and believed that a threat of war by Louis would suffice to check any attempt of William to invade England. Such a threat was addressed to Holland early in September, 1688, but was not seriously intended, as Louis had already determined upon attacking Germany first. When a few weeks afterwards his forces marched upon the Rhine, the Dutch armaments were approaching completion. The tidings that French aid was no longer available at last opened the eyes of James to his danger, and he made desperate efforts to retrace his steps. The Ecclesiastical Commission was dissolved, and a personal appeal for support made to the Bishops. London and most of the disfranchised boroughs were reinstated. The magistrates whom he had dismissed were restored to office, and the Fellows of Magdalen College replaced. A proclamation was even issued for the closing of Catholic chapels and schools. Sunderland, who was still in power, urged him to summon Parliament at once. But in the present temper of the nation it was almost certain that a new House of Commons would refuse supplies, unless he consented to a war with France and to entrust its prosecution to William. His suspicions of Sunder-

land's good faith were therefore aroused by this advice, and, dismissing him from office, he reverted to his policy of dependence upon Louis.

The "Declaration" of the Prince of Orange, setting forth the object of his expedition, appeared at this crisis. It demanded the redress of the national grievances and the assembling of a free Parliament for the settlement of civil liberty and the Protestant faith; promised toleration to Nonconformists and licence of worship to Catholics; and reserved any questions as to the legitimacy of the alleged Prince of Wales and the succession to the throne for the decision of Parliament. The military and naval armament which was to give effect to this manifesto consisted of 600 transports, carrying 13,000 troops, and convoyed by fifty men-of-war. Besides Dutch, Swedes, and Brandenburgers, this force included three infantry regiments of French Huguenots, and a squadron of cavalry, mostly veteran soldiers, commanded by officers of distinction. Though delayed by contrary winds and a severe storm, the flotilla sailed round the English coast, unopposed by the royal fleet which lay in the Downs, and anchored at Torbay on the 4th November. Upon the following day, memorable as a great Protestant anniversary, William landed, and the coincidence was hailed by his adherents as an omen of success. The nobility and gentry of the western counties soon joined his standard, and Plymouth declared for him. When the royal army, which had been increased by Irish and Scotch recruits to the number of 40,000 men, was recalled from the north to meet the invader, its

departure was followed by a general rising. Danby, at the head of the Yorkshire nobles and squires, marched to Derby, where those of the midland and eastern counties were assembled, under Lord Devonshire. The cry of a free Parliament was echoed by the militia of York, and the garrison of Hull. Norwich, and Oxford welcomed the local magnates who mustered their forces for the Prince, and Bristol opened its gates at his approach. He advanced to Salisbury, where the royal army was concentrated, but the disaffection which permeated its ranks and the mistrust of its officers rendered serious opposition impossible, and it retreated in disorder. Convinced by the desertion of his best general, Lord Churchill, and many others upon whom he had counted, that it was useless to prolong the struggle, James fled in haste to London, where he learned that his daughter, Anne, had abandoned the palace of St. James and taken refuge with Danby's force. He was so crushed by these proofs of the ruin of his cause that he determined upon flight. The Queen and her child having escaped to France in disguise, he set out to follow them on the 10th December, but the fishermen of Sheppey, whence he attempted to embark, arrested him as a foreign Jesuit, and conveyed him to Faversham, where he was obliged to announce himself and appeal for aid to the Lord-lieutenant of the county. He was thence conducted back to London by a guard despatched by some of the leading peers and Bishops, who, as soon as his flight became known, had formed themselves into a Provisional Government to preserve order. For a

few days he clung to the hope of regaining power, and proposed an interview with William at Whitehall to settle the questions which agitated the nation. He was encouraged in this hope by certain of the Tory leaders, who shrank from a change of dynasty, and trusted that he might become reconciled to Parliament by abandoning his scheme of establishing Catholicism. But such a delusion was scouted by the Whigs, who urged upon William the futility of any arrangement which left the government in the hands of James. The Prince, accordingly, remained at Windsor, without replying to the King's invitation. Dutch troops, however, were sent to Westminster to replace the royal guards, and a deputation of peers waited upon James to intimate the prudence of his choosing another residence. His alarm revived, and, embracing the opportunity of escape which was obviously given him, he left London for Rochester, whence, on the 23rd December he embarked for France.

On William's arrival in London, the Provisional Government surrendered its power into his hands, and a convention of both Houses of Parliament met in January, 1689. A resolution passed by the Whig majority in the Commons, that James by his violation of the laws had forfeited the throne, which was now vacant, was rejected by the Tory majority in the Lords. After further discussion, a vote was finally agreed to at the instance of Danby that the succession had become vested in Mary. But this decision neither Mary nor William would accept; she on her part declining the throne unless it were shared by

her husband, and he objecting to occupy the subordinate place of consort or regent. In the face of their determination, the Houses had no choice but to acquiesce in their joint sovereignty, and that the functions of government should be exercised by William alone. As a precautionary measure, a Declaration of Rights was drawn up and agreed to by both Houses, which, after recounting the illegal acts of which James had been guilty, asserted the right of all English subjects to free Parliamentary representation and impartial justice ; claimed for both Houses the privilege of free debate ; demanded that Protestants should be secured in the enjoyment of religious liberty, and the sovereign be bound to uphold the Protestant faith and the laws and rights of the nation ; expressed the confidence of the Houses that the assurances which William had given of his intention to deliver and preserve those rights from injury would be fulfilled ; and finally declared the Prince and Princess of Orange to be King and Queen of England. On the 13th February, 1689, this Declaration having been presented to William and Mary at Whitehall, the Houses, by the voice of Halifax, solemnly tendered the crown to their acceptance. In the name of himself and his wife, William accepted it with a reiterated assurance of their resolve to maintain the laws of the realm and to govern by the advice of Parliament.

This impressive ceremony signalised the termination of the long struggle between dynastic absolutism and popular freedom ; the final emancipation, by foreign instrumentality, of a people singularly loyal to the

claims of tradition and usage, but yet more tenacious of its political rights and religious liberties. The pledge thus exacted from a new sovereign, under such exceptional circumstances, constitutes the tenure upon which every succeeding sovereign has held the throne of England. It has never since been broken, and the confidence that its breach is impossible imparts to the nation and the monarch alike an abiding sense of security.

CHAPTER XII.

Miscellaneous foreign influences from the Restoration to the Revolution.

It is impossible to gainsay the verdict of history that the deterioration which the moral tone of English society underwent during the reign of Charles II. was mainly due to a natural reaction against the excessive constraint of the Puritan *régime*. The form which that deterioration assumed was, however, determined by special rather than general causes, and of these the influence of France was undoubtedly the strongest. The King inherited from both parents a strain of vicious blood which drew its contamination from France. His ancestress, Mary Stuart, had been bred at the corrupt court of Catherine de' Medici, and there learned how to reconcile a strict religious creed with the indulgence of sensual delights which led to her ultimate ruin. His mother was the daughter of a king whose libertinism was notorious, and her own reputation was not irreproachable. The circumstances under which his youth was passed precluded the exercise of an adequate restraint upon his propensities. So recklessly did he gratify them during his exile that by the time he came to the throne, profligacy had become an inveterate habit which he made no attempt to check or disguise. The close political relations into which Charles entered with

Louis XIV. encouraged him in assimilating the practices of the Court of London to those of Paris. If any inducement to that end had been lacking, it would have been supplied by the instalment of Louise de Querouaille as his favourite mistress, under whose ascendancy the influence of France continued paramount to the end of his reign. The licentious example set by Charles was but too faithfully copied by his courtiers, and thence transmitted to the circles round them. After the wont of copyists, the defects of their model were chiefly selected for imitation, and exaggerated. The veil of decorum which concealed the evidences of impurity from the public gaze in Paris was cast aside in London, and vice in its grossest forms flaunted in the face of day. Men of rank and breeding, such as Rochester and Sedley, vied with each other in inventing fresh extravagances of debauchery. Religion and virtue were held up to ridicule, and the breach of their most sacred obligations paraded. Nor was the spread of this mischievous epidemic confined to morals and manners. The debased taste, splendid luxury, and frivolous pleasures of the French Renaissance were imported to England *en bloc*. Language, literature, art, the drama, even the ceremonial music of the Church, were all infected by the prevailing contagion. To interlard his conversation with French phrases became the ambition of every fine gentleman. Even so masculine a writer as Dryden was not ashamed to choose a French word when its English equivalent would have expressed his meaning as well. The domination which the French critics and dramatists exercised over our own

forms a subject of itself which must be reserved for separate consideration.

France, however, has always been remarkable for strangely-composite characteristics, and if this period exhibits her as a source of pollution and disease, it reveals her also as a fountain of pure and fertilising waters. The immigration of Huguenot refugees, consequent upon the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, in 1685, made a contribution to our national strength, the importance of which, whether considered as an accession of racial, moral, or industrial elements, it would be difficult to overrate. Among the 120,000 persons who are estimated to have settled here, there was a great diversity of intellectual power, professional occupation, and social rank. They included such *savants* as Solomon de Caus and Papin, illustrious for their researches and experiments respecting the motive-power of steam; Desaguliers, who became the demonstrator and curator of the Royal Society; and De Moivre, the mathematician, whose "Doctrine of Chances" afforded a basis for the system of life-assurance. Prominent among scholars and men of letters were Rapin-Thoyras, the historian; Du Moulin, afterwards Professor of history at Oxford; Gagnier, the orientalist; Motteaux, the translator of Cervantes and Rabelais; and Boyer, the lexicographer. The list of divines numbered Abbadie, Saurin, Allix, De la Motte, Drelincourt, and others distinguished for their piety and eloquence. Among soldiers and statesmen were Marshal Schomberg, who became the hero of the battle of the Boyne; the Marquis de Ruvigny, after-

wards Earl of Galway ; Jean Cavalier, the famous Camisard leader ; and Jean Louis Ligonier, created Earl Ligonier, the future veteran of Malplaquet, Dettingen, and Fontenoy. Less famous in their own persons than in their descendants were the ancestors of families as honourably remembered in our annals as those of Bosanquet, Labouchere, Lefevre, Romilly, Boileau, Portal, Layard, Gambier, Martineau, Austin, Newman, Trench, Faber, Dollond, De la Rue, Courtauld, and Fourdrinier. Men of such mark in their respective callings as David Garrick, the actor ; Baron Maseres, the judge ; Jortin, the biographer of Erasmus ; Romaine, the Calvinistic divine ; Maturin, the dramatist ; Albany Fonblanque, the journalist ; Marryatt and Chamier, the novelists ; Sydney Smith, the wit and essayist ; and Sir George Cornewall Lewis, the statesman, all claimed descent, either on the father's or the mother's side, from Huguenot refugees. The list might probably be prolonged but for the change of name adopted by many of the immigrants on becoming naturalised, which has rendered their identification difficult. Diversified and invaluable as were the mental qualities contributed by the immigrants, the new moral fibre which they imparted to our organism must be reckoned as the most precious of their gifts. The loyalty to conscience, the zeal for truth, which nerved men and women of all ranks and ages to sunder the strongest ties of affection, patriotism, and interest, and begin the labour of life afresh in a foreign land, are heroic virtues of which Englishmen, though never lacking them, cannot possess too much.

The number of manufacturers and skilled workmen in various branches of industry who were driven into exile by the Revocation was so large (amounting according to one calculation to 100,000) as practically to shift the centre of commercial activity from France to England. The demands of the English world of fashion for foreign articles of dress, upholstery, and *virtu*, to which the French had almost exclusively ministered, were henceforth supplied at home, and the necessity of importing such commodities at a great cost was superseded. The bigotry of Louis thus wrought its own Nemesis; the exhaustion of his most prosperous provinces serving to enrich the poverty of his bitterest foe. In northern France, more especially in Normandy and Brittany, many manufactures were actually extinguished by the wholesale emigration of masters and men. Great numbers of the immigrants settled in London, chiefly in the districts of Soho, Spitalfields, and Bethnal Green, where they proceeded to open factories and carry on their several industries. The most thriving was the silk-manufacture established at Spitalfields by a band of weavers from Lyons and Tours, who brought with them the art of making lustrings, taffeties, figured silks, velvets, and other stuffs, of which France had hitherto preserved the secret and enjoyed a monopoly. Calico-printing, button-making, hat-making, lace-making, glass-making, and paper-making, some of which had been introduced into England by small bodies of refugees in the preceding century, but up to this time continued to be practised upon a large scale almost exclusively in France, were now carried

by the new settlers into various parts of England, Scotland, and Ireland, where, after achieving in many instances the prosperity of their founders, they eventually became naturalised crafts. The manufacture of brocades, tabinets, &c., for which Norwich was long celebrated, the lace-making of Buckinghamshire and adjoining counties, and the flax and poplin factories of Ireland were originated or stimulated into fresh activity by Huguenot exiles. The paper-mills now standing upon the rivers Darent in Kent and Itchin in Hants were thus established, the latter remaining in the possession of a descendant of the Huguenot family by whom they were erected. Many of the technical terms still used in the manufacture both of paper and glass are obviously of French origin, and their introduction is believed to date from this period. The industrial enterprise and inventive skill of the newcomers were further attested by the number of patents which they took out for improved processes of manufacture. The recurrence of French names is very marked upon the records of the Patent Office for several years after the Revocation.

A large accession to the French Protestant churches was required for the accommodation of the immigrants, and at the beginning of the last century these numbered not less than thirty-five in London and its suburbs alone. Many of them still exist, but, owing to the gradual absorption of the exiles into the body of the English people, the majority have been converted to other uses.

The French Renaissance has left such obvious proofs of its dominating influence over our Restora-

tion literature as to distract attention from any other, but the masterpieces of the greatest poet of this period evince a profound antagonism to its spirit. In the "Paradise Lost" of Milton, published in 1667, and in his "Samson Agonistes," published in 1671, there are abundant evidences that he had drunk deeply at the fountains of Greek and Roman art, but the draught had invigorated and refreshed his mind without polluting it. Of his presentment of the Hebrew epos, which was his first theme, it has been well said that "the stern idealism of Geneva is clothed in the gorgeous robes of the Renaissance. . . . The 'Paradise Lost' : . . . is the epic of Puritanism. Its scheme is the problem with which the Puritan wrestled in hours of gloom and darkness—the problem of sin and redemption, of the world-wide struggle of evil against good."¹ Its historical interest is heightened by the poet's striking and pathetic references to the circumstances under which it was written; to the blindness which he had contracted by his devotion to official duty as Secretary of the Commonwealth Government; to the perils by which he was surrounded after the Restoration;—

though fall'n on evil days,
On evil days though fall'n, and evil tongues;
In darkness, and with dangers compass'd round;—

to the open debauchery and violence that prevailed under the new *régime*; and to the degradation to

¹ Green's "History of the English People," vol. iii. p. 379.

which ecclesiastical government had been reduced in days, when into God's

Church lewd hirelings climb.

For his choice of a subject and the method of handling it, some critics have surmised that Milton was indebted to the Dutch poet, Vondel, whose "Lucifer" appeared fourteen years before the publication of "Paradise Lost," but it is questionable whether he was likely to be acquainted with Dutch literature, or if the resemblances that exist between the two works amount to more than coincidences.

In "Samson Agonistes," it is not improbable that Milton designed to typify the fate of slavery and scorn which the great cause of Puritanism temporarily suffered under the yoke of the Cavalier reactionaries, and the revolutionary Nemesis which he foresaw would avenge it. One of the choric passages contains a pointed allusion to the penalties which had fallen upon the surviving adherents of the Commonwealth :—

Or else captivated ;
Or to the unjust tribunals, under change of times,
And condemnation of the ingrateful multitude . . .
. causeless suffering
The punishment of dissolute days.

The revulsion of national sentiment which produced the Restoration gives historical importance to the "Hudibras" of Samuel Butler, a coarse but pungent satire upon such of the superficial aspects of Puritanism as were unworthy and ridiculous. The first part appeared in 1663, and the second in the

following year. Its motive was obviously suggested by that of "Don Quixote," which had been made known to English readers by Shelton's translation.

The unabated force of the Puritan movement found expression in the "Pilgrim's Progress" of John Bunyan, of which Part I. was published in 1678 and Part II. in 1684. Its dramatic allegory and incisive delineations of character might of themselves have sufficed to give it literary celebrity, but its immense popularity could only have been attained by its appeals to a large class of homely readers, already familiar with the themes of which it treated and in sympathy with the teaching it conveyed.

The first important poem by which John Dryden made his mark upon English literature, "Annus Mirabilis," commemorated the naval war between England and Holland, as prominent among the striking events of 1666. The temporary triumph of the national flag which justified his poem was disastrously reversed in the following year, when the Dutch fleet sailed unopposed up the Thames.

Dryden's "Absalom and Achitophel" has already been referred to as a political satire, called forth by the agitation of 1681. Its object was to stimulate the reaction of loyalty provoked by Shaftesbury's violence, and to which Charles had adroitly appealed. In selecting a Scriptural narrative for the subject of his apologue, Dryden may have been actuated by the hope of engaging the sympathies of some of Shaftesbury's Presbyterian supporters. David represented the King; Absalom, his rebellious son, Mon-

mouth; Achitophel, Shaftesbury; Zimri, Buckingham; and Corah, Oates; the Roman Catholics figuring as Jebusites, and the Nonconformists as Levites. The fluctuations of religious strife by which the nation was distracted during the last decade of the Stuarts' rule are mirrored in two other of Dryden's best-known poems, "Religio Laici" and "The Hind and Panther." The former, published in 1682, recorded the poet's adherence to the Anglican Church as a *via media* between the pretensions of the Church of Rome to supremacy over the prerogatives of the Crown and the revolt against authority, which enlisted Nonconformists and Republicans under the same banner. Five years later, the publication of the "Hind and Panther" announced his conversion to the Romish communion, and his desire to promote the union between it and the Established Church upon which James II. was bent.

The stage, to which Dryden devoted the best years of his life, although his natural genius disposed him to work in other fields, was the chief instrument and index of the revolution in taste and morals effected by the influence of the French Renaissance. Since the time of Ronsard and Malherbe, the literary activity of France had become concentrated in attention to metrical form and purity of diction. Though carried to an excess of pedantic affectation and absurdity which provoked the criticism of Boileau and the mockery of Molière, this formalism was reduced by Corneille and Racine into strict canons of dramatic art, which obtained general acceptance and ruled

the stage for two centuries afterwards. Unity of action, unity of time, and unity of place were thereby prescribed as essential to the structure of tragedy, and the rhyming couplet of ten-syllabled lines as the measure alone suited to heroic themes. In comedy, Corneille and his school were mainly influenced by the study of the Spanish dramatists, Lope de Vega and Calderon ; making use of the same motives of love-intrigue and adventure upon which the machinery of their plots almost invariably turns. The low moral standard of a society regulated by the dissolute court of Louis XIV. encouraged the choice of vicious motives and characters which distinguishes this comedy, and dictated the tone of suggestive impurity that pervades its dialogue. The artistic canons and the immoral types of the French stage naturally commended themselves for imitation to English dramatists, who depended upon the patronage of such a sovereign as Charles II. and the aristocratic circle over which he presided. His disposition to set up a French model of taste for his own capital was shown by his sending Betterton, the leading actor of the day, over to Paris for the purpose of observing the stage-management at its principal theatres, and borrowing such improvements as were readily adaptable. The love of dramatic representations, which had characterised the English people since the middle of the sixteenth century, was but little checked by the Puritan restrictions, and only revived the more keenly at the Restoration. Even under the Commonwealth, Sir William Davenant contrived to evade its interdict upon stage-plays by opening a house in 1656 for the performance

of "operas," in which recitative was interspersed with musical accompaniments, songs, and choruses. This form of entertainment was of Italian origin, but had recently been introduced into France, whence Davenant imported it. After the Restoration, he obtained a patent for the Duke of York's company of players, who acted in Lincoln's Inn Fields, and by a special clause was permitted to employ actresses in female parts, hitherto played by youths. Thomas Killigrew, who was appointed manager of the King's Company in Drury Lane, was well acquainted with the Continent, and made it his boast that of the nine plays which he published in 1664 eight were written in foreign cities.

Dryden, whose connexion with the stage began with the production of his "Wild Gallant," in February, 1663, although repudiating his obligation to French influence, practically recognised it by adopting the ten-syllabled rhymed couplet in "The Indian Queen," which he wrote a few months later in concert with Sir Robert Howard. In the preface to his third play, "The Rival Ladies," he laboriously defended the substitution of rhyme for blank verse, as better suited to the dignity of tragedy, and argued that, admitting it to be an innovation, it was unreasonable to "oppose ourselves to the most polished and civilised nations of Europe." In an essay upon dramatic poetry written in the form of a dialogue, and published in 1667, he maintained this preference against the animadversions of Sir Robert Howard, and in a subsequent essay appealed to contemporary

opinion as so manifestly in favour of rhyme, that "very few tragedies in this age shall be received without it." The three unities of time, place, and action formulated by the French tragedians were also the subject of discussion by the speakers in Dryden's dialogue. In the mouths of Lisideius (Sir Charles Sedley) and of Neander (himself) arguments were put to prove that these rules were drawn from the ancients, and had already been practised by the greatest English dramatists; but, while thus challenging the credit of the French to their invention, the duty of observing them was tacitly admitted. The extravagantly-heroic sentiments and the stilted, inflated language which characterise the tragedies of Dryden and the Restoration writers generally, cannot be attributed to their French dramatic models, but were probably imitated from the romancists, whose works continued in vogue. The degradation of public taste which, with the glories of the Elizabethan drama still in remembrance, could tolerate the exhibition of rant and bombast, was manifested in the mutilation of some of Shakespeare's masterpieces and in the preference avowed by even such cultivated men as Pepys for the French imitations which disputed possession of the stage.

In comedy, the signs of decadence were still more evident. Discarding the superficial decorum and polish which veiled the ignoble motives and impure suggestions of their models, the comic dramatists of the Restoration vaunted their contempt of all moral restraint. Decency was abandoned, marriage made the subject of ridicule, and the coarsest debauchery

represented as the normal and permissible practice of society. The mischief effected by this perversion of a valuable intellectual and moral agency to the basest uses has not been confined to the age which wrought it. Its consequences are still felt in the unavoidable interdiction to young students of the dramas of so great a writer as Dryden, which, in spite of their grave blemishes, abound in passages of striking vigour and beauty.

Besides their obligation to French influences for the structure, motives, and style of their plays, the Restoration dramatists freely availed themselves of the plots and characters of popular French or Spanish pieces by way of adaptation or translation. Dryden's "Sir Martin Marr-all," produced in 1667, is a version of Molière's "L'Etourdi"; his "An Evening's Love" was drawn from Thomas Corneille's "Le Feint Astrologue" and Molière's "Le Dépit Amoureux." The suggestion of his "Conquest of Granada" was obtained from Mdle. de Scuderi's "Almahide," and one of its chief characters, Almanzor, admittedly modelled in part upon Calprenède's Artaban. Shadwell took his "Miser" from Molière's "L'Avare"; Crowne his "Sir Courtly Nice" from the "No Puede Ser" of the Spanish comedian, Moreto; Settle his "Ibrahim" from a novel of Scuderi's. Otway borrowed the plots of "Don Carlos" and "Venice Preserved" from a novel and an historical romance by the Abbé de St. Real; his "Titus and Berenice" was a version of Racine's "Berenice"; and his "Cheats of Scapin" of Molière's comedy of that name. Wycherley's "Country Wife" is based upon Molière's "L'Ecole

des Femmes," and his "Plain Dealer" upon "Le Misanthrope."

In 1673, Boileau, whose satires upon the vapid extravagance of the fashionable French romancists and the pedantic purism of the Academicians had established his reputation, published "*L'Art Poétique*," in which his theory of poetical criticism is elaborately formulated. Inspired by Horace's "*Ars Poetica*," it assumed the classical literature of Greece and Rome as an authoritative standard by which to measure the work of every modern poet; prescribed rational "good sense" and a strict attention to form as the first requirements of art; and implicitly excluded passion, imagination, and fancy as superfluous elements. Accepted by general consent in France as a critical code from which there was no appeal, and enforced by the advocacy of Bossu, Rapin, and other able writers, it long continued to dictate the conditions to which the poetic genius of the race must conform. Overlooking the fact that, while French belongs to the Latin family of languages, English is structurally Teutonic, Dryden, Lords Roscommon and Mulgrave (afterwards Duke of Buckinghamshire), applied Boileau's rules to their own literature. In the preface to his revised version of Shakespeare's "*Troilus and Cressida*," Dryden outlined an ideal of poetical perfection which substantially agrees with the rules laid down by Boileau, and cited, with approval, the arguments by which Bossu and Rapin had supported them. His own practice, and that of his chief disciple, Pope, established these principles so firmly that for nearly a

century afterwards English poetry scarcely deviated from the same lines.

An increased number of translations from the Latin classics indicated the growth of a literary demand created by their acceptance as an artistic standard. Dryden largely ministered to this demand by his translations of Virgil, Ovid, Horace, Juvenal, and Persius, published in a series of miscellanies, to which other hands also contributed. Translations of Lucretius by Creech, of Seneca and Cicero by Roger L'Estrange, were in contemporary repute. The Greek classics were not altogether neglected; Cowley translating two of Pindar's odes, and composing a series of original odes in the Pindaric manner which invited many inferior imitators. Specimens of Homer and Theocritus were also included among Dryden's miscellanies.

Translations of several celebrated French works were published during this period, of which the best-remembered are Montaigne's "Essays," by Charles Cotton; Rochefoucauld's "Maxims," and "Fontenelle's "Plurality of Worlds," by Aphra Behn, and Corneille's "Horace" and "Pompée," by Katherine Philips (Orinda).

Continental scholarship was represented in England during the reign of Charles II. by Isaac Vossius, a native of Leyden, whose reputation for classical learning almost equalled that of his father, Gerard. He came over in 1670, was made a Canon of Windsor, and provided with apartments in the castle, where he remained until his death in 1688. In the united fields of philosophy and scholarship, the chief interme-

diaries of foreign influences were Henry More, Ralph Cudworth, and Joseph Glanvil. More devoted his life to expounding a system of Christian Platonism, derived partly from the study of Plato's doctrines, as modified by the Alexandrian neo-Platonists and the Italian humanists, and partly from the writings of the Jewish cabbalists and of Tauler and other German mystics. He corresponded with the French metaphysician, Descartes, and was in partial agreement with his philosophical principles. Cudworth, who was professor of Hebrew at Cambridge, was a leading member of the school of Latitudinarian divines who generally adopted Arminian tenets. His best-known work, on "The Intellectual System of the Universe," was designed as an answer to the materialistic theories of Hobbes, which he confuted by an investigation of ancient philosophical systems "in order to show the unity of a supreme God to have been a general belief of antiquity."¹ He was acquainted with the theories of Gassendi and Descartes, whose works he cites, although rarely with approval. Glanvil, whose chief work is known by the names of "The Vanity of Dogmatising" and "Scepsis Scientifica," which he gave to the two editions respectively published in 1661 and 1665, set himself to accomplish the emancipation of thought from scholastic tyranny which Bacon had inaugurated. He substantially accepted the system of Descartes, to whom he refers in terms of warm praise.

The "Royal Society for Improving Natural Know-

¹ Hallam's "Introduction to the Literature of Europe," vol. iv. p. 66.

ledge" sprang out of the meetings of scientific observers held in London and Oxford during the Civil War, already mentioned. It was incorporated in April, 1662, and fostered by the patronage of Charles II., who inherited a measure of his father's cultivated tastes, and of Prince Rupert, who was himself a skilful chemist. Besides a foreign secretary, Henry Oldenburg, a native of Bremen, it numbered foreign *savants* among its members and correspondents, and the discoveries of Huyghens, Torricelli, Malpighi, and others in astronomy, physics, physiology, &c., were repeatedly subjects of discussion. It cannot be doubted that to the active communication of thought which such minds as Flamstead, Halley, Wallis, Sydenham, Willis, Wilkins, Woodward, Ray, Grew, Morrison, Boyle, Hooke, and Wren, interchanged with their more advanced fellow-labourers on the Continent, the rapid strides made by English science during this period are largely due. The greatest *savant* whom England has produced, Isaac Newton, was a student at Cambridge during the early years of the Royal Society, of which he did not become a member until 1671. The mathematical studies on which his future discoveries were based embraced the writings of Descartes upon algebraic geometry and mechanics, which were then in use at Cambridge. Thomas Sydenham, by whose observations and experiments medicine is held to have been first raised to the dignity of a science, visited the medical school at Montpellier before practising in London. The recognition of Peruvian bark, or "Jesuits' powder," as a specific for ague, which, although

introduced into England in 1653, was long condemned by the faculty as a quack medicine, is believed to be owing to his persistent employment and advocacy.

In the pictorial art of this period foreign influences were still paramount. The most fashionable portrait-painter of the Restoration was Sir Peter Lely, a native of Westphalia, but of Dutch parentage. He came to this country in 1641, and, stimulated by the study of Vandyck, abandoned landscape and historical painting, to which he had hitherto devoted himself, for portraiture alone. His success induced him to reside here until his death in 1680. The statesmen, wits, and beauties of the Restoration still live upon his canvas. The characteristics of his manner are too well known to require notice. Greenhill, Davenport, and others are enumerated among his English pupils and imitators. Simon Varelst, a Dutch artist, who excelled as a flower-painter, but also applied himself to portraiture, was in high repute here during the reign of Charles II. William Vandewelde the elder and his yet more eminent son of the same name visited England during that reign, and, having been appointed marine painters to the Crown, spent the rest of their lives here. Many of the latter's best works are to be found in our public and private collections. Other Dutch painters were employed at the same time, the most notable being Netscher, a pupil of Terburg, a skilful artist of small portraits, and Griffiere, whose artificial landscapes still find admirers. The statements of some writers upon art that Rembrandt, Teniers, and Terburg were also

visitors here require verification. Godfrey Kneller, a native of Lübeck, who studied under both Dutch and Italian masters, but can scarcely be ranked in either school, came over in 1674, and rapidly attained success as a portrait-painter. His reputation, however, culminated under William III. and Anne, with the chief celebrities of whose reign his brush has familiarised us. Italian art, now in its decline, was represented by Antonio Verrio, a Neapolitan, who obtained ample employment in painting mythological and allegorical designs upon the ceilings and stair-cases of the royal palaces.

The invention of the art of mezzotint engraving has been usually attributed to Prince Rupert, but doubts have recently been thrown upon his claim. He at all events introduced it into England, and by the success with which he cultivated it established its reputation. William Faithorne, the chief English engraver of this period, was a pupil of the French artist, Nanteuil, whose style, however, he considerably modified. He is said to have acquired from the same master the art of crayon-drawing, which he also practised. Loggan, a native of Dantzic, Blooteling and Valek, both Dutchmen, and Vanderbank, a native of France, but probably of Dutch extraction, were the principal foreign engravers employed.

In sculpture, the only artist of distinction who was undoubtedly of foreign extraction was Gabriel Cibber, a Dane, who came to England during the Commonwealth and found employment under Stone until his merits became recognised. The statues of Melancholy and Raving Madness, in front of Bethlehem Hospital,

are his best-known works. The greatest artist in wood of his own, or perhaps of any age, Grinling Gibbons, some of whose exquisite carvings belong to this period, according to one early account of him, was born in London, of Dutch parentage; according to another, was the child of English parents, but born in Holland. The art of graving in metal was followed by a family of French medallists, named Rotier, five in number, who were employed in the Royal Mint, of whom John was esteemed the best artist. The original design, representing the Duchess of Richmond as Britannia, upon the reverse of a medal struck for Charles II., is attributed to another brother, Philip Rotier.

The architecture of the Renaissance found its highest English representative in Sir Christopher Wren, and developed new dignity and beauty from the modifications which he introduced. The calamitous fire of London was converted into a national benefit by the opportunity it afforded him of rebuilding the principal metropolitan churches; of which St. Paul's, St. Mary-le-Bow, and St. Stephen's, Walbrook, are his acknowledged masterpieces. Greenwich Hospital, a considerable portion of Hampton Court Palace, and the library of Trinity College, Cambridge, are among his stateliest works elsewhere.

Music was one of the arts which Charles II. patronised. His tastes in this, as in other respects, inclined him to French usages, and he introduced a violin orchestra into the Chapel Royal in imitation of one which performed before Louis XIV. Lanière, already named, held the office of Director of the

King's music for some years after the Restoration ; and two Frenchmen, named Cambert and Grebus, or Grabut, are named among his successors. Pelham Humphrey, who was in high esteem with the King as a composer of songs and anthems, was a pupil of Lulli, an Italian settled in France. Italian music also was much in vogue, and Gio. Baptista Draghi, a composer of some merit, was in the service of Queen Catherine. The experiment of introducing the opera upon our stage, which was tried by Davenant under the Commonwealth, was renewed after the Restoration by Thomas Killigrew, who collected an Italian company for the purpose. Evelyn, in his diary, records his being present at the first performance of an Italian opera, in January, 1674. Both his diary and that of Pepys contain frequent references to celebrated Italian singers and players upon the violin, harpsichord, and other instruments, whose concerts they attended.

The growth of our foreign commerce during this period may be measured by the progress made by the East India Company, whose annual exports amounted in 1677 to about £430,000 and their imports to about £860,000. In addition to these returns, the private trade carried on by the shipowners, officers, seamen, and factors of the Company amounted in exports to upwards of £120,000 and in imports to more than £230,000. The annexation to England of the island of Bombay, in 1669, opened out fresh channels of profit to the Company. The loss which befel them in 1683 and 1687 of their factories at Bantam in Java and Hooghly in Bengal was compensated by

the acquisition of a new settlement in Sumatra, which enabled them to retain the spice trade, and of another on the east bank of the Ganges, which developed into the city of Calcutta. The island of St. Helena, which had been granted to the Company by their charter of 1661, was afterwards wrested from them by the Dutch, but, having been regained in 1672, was confirmed in their possession. China was included within the scope of their enterprise in 1680. The prohibition of trade with France, which was enacted in 1678, does not appear to have worked the mischief it was calculated to cause, the loss of so important a purchaser being probably counter-balanced by the growing demands of the American colonists. An extensive commerce was carried on with Turkey, Italy, Spain, and Portugal; and the shipping employed by the African Company in their trade with Guinea amounted, together with that of the American trade, to 40,000 tons.

Among the imports brought into use at this period, two deserve special mention. Tea was introduced as early at least as 1660, when Pepys records his having drunk it as a novelty. A few years later he refers to it as being recommended to his wife by her medical attendant. Its consumption, however, was not large, and did not become fashionable until after the Revolution. Coffee was introduced from the East, under the Commonwealth, by a Turkey merchant, and soon after the Restoration came into vogue as a favourite beverage. The coffee-house soon became a place of social, literary, and eventually political resort, and from the middle of the reign of

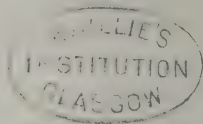
Charles II. took rank as a characteristic feature of English life, answering in many respects to the club of our own day.

The settlement of some Dutch dyers in England in 1666 introduced to us their process of dressing woollen cloths, and an improved weaving-loom was imported from Holland not long afterwards. Fine linens were manufactured at Ipswich by a company of French Protestants in 1669. Some Venetian glass-makers, who were brought over by the Duke of Buckingham in 1670, improved our knowledge of its manufacture. The process of tinning plate-iron was introduced from Germany during the same period by some workmen employed by Andrew Yarranton, the author of an important work upon English handicrafts. A Dutchman is said to have set up a mill at Sheen, at which wire was first made in England. The stimulus imparted to almost every branch of industry by the advent of Huguenot refugees, consequent upon the revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685, has already been noticed.

The addition to our national sports of the game of "pêlè-mêle," a description of tennis, imported from France, which has given its name to a principal London thoroughfare, and of skating, which was first performed, as Evelyn records, in 1662, "after the manner of the Hollanders," may be mentioned among the minor foreign contributions of this epoch.

Socially, as well as politically, the term at which this retrospect concludes may be regarded as the threshold of our modern history. Widely as the England of the revolutionary period seems, at first

sight, to differ from the England of to-day, the difference will be seen, upon closer inspection, to be of degree and not of kind. The organisation of political parties, the cleavage of religious sects, the divergent aims of statesmen and divines, the rivalries of commercial enterprise and industry, the subjects of scientific, literary, and artistic interest, the tastes and amusements of society, the conditions and habits of daily life, were substantially the same as they are now, and the interval of two centuries has done little more than develop the growth of the tendencies which were then in germ.



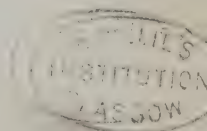
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